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HISTORY

OF

FREDERICK THE SECOND.

VOL. II.

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HISTORY

OF

FREDERICK THE SECOND,

EMPEROR OF THE ROMANS.

FROM CHRONICLES AND DOCUMENTS PUBLISHED
WITHIN THE LAST TEN YEARS.

BY

T. L. KINGTON, M.A.

OF BALLIOL COLLEGE, OXFORD, AND THE INNER TEMPLE.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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ERRATUM.

Page 210, line 21, *for* ends *read* end.

THE HISTORY

OF

FREDERICK THE SECOND.

CHAPTER XI.

A.D. 1235—A.D. 1239.

'Vicinæ ruptis inter se legibus urbes
Arma ferunt; sævit toto Mars impius orbe.'
VIRGIL.

'ITALY is my heritage, and all the world knows it. To covet other men's property, and to give up my own, would be sinful, especially as the disrespectful insolence of the Italians has provoked me. Moreover I am a Christian, and am ready to overcome the foes of the Cross. Heresies have sprung up and are growing thick in Italy, especially at Milan; it would be bad policy, were I to quit the Italians, and to attack the Saracens. I cannot undertake a Crusade without a large army, and for that purpose I need the wealth of Italy, which abounds in arms, horses, and wealth, as all the world knows.'

Such was Frederick's haughty declaration of war in the summer of 1236. It was an answer to the Papacy, which had tried in March to draw off his attention from Italy to Palestine. Announcing that many Kings had taken the Cross, Gregory had requested the presence of Hermann von Salza, and

CHAP. XI.

1235–1239.

had asserted, that the truce between Frederick and the Lombards was not yet over. But Frederick had had enough of truces and of Papal mediation; he had from the very first met with the most grievous insults from the Lombards. They had tried to seize him, when a lad, at the ford of the Lambro in 1212; they had refused to crown him with their iron Crown in 1220; they had joined in the attack on his Kingdom in 1229. They had been the ruin of his two Diets, first at Cremona, and then at Ravenna; and worst outrage of all, they had entered into a league against him with his rebellious son. He had often approached them in peace; he was now coming down among them, sword in hand. By his manifesto, he had skilfully placed the Pope in a dilemma; his Holiness must either take the part of heretics, or he must see his best allies in any future struggle with the Empire borne down before his eyes. Gregory chose the least of the two evils; the spiritual interests of the Papacy gave way to its temporal advantage. With Rome, Doctrine is always secondary to Dominion. Alliance with Paterines was less to be dreaded than the overwhelming might of the Hohenstaufen Kaisers. Thus it has ever been; one Pope deserted Charles the Fifth at the very crisis of the struggle with the Lutherans, for fear of that Monarch's becoming too powerful in Italy. Another Pope hailed with joy the English Revolution of 1688, deeming the overthrow of the schemes of his overbearing enemy, Louis the Fourteenth, of far greater importance than the stern check given to the Papal religion in the British Isles.*

* See Von Ranke on these points.

As yet, Gregory did not venture on open opposition to the Emperor. He contented himself with harping on the approaching end of the truce made with the Moslem, and on the consequent danger of Palestine. Frederick had other game in view. He was about to enter on that war in Northern Italy, which at the end of fourteen years and a half brought him to his grave. Henceforward, there would be scanty leisure for laws or arts, for poetry or prose treatises. A bloody and rancorous strife was about to lay waste Italy. Hitherto her factions had been local, each city warring against its nearest neighbour. Now at length the Ghibellines were to possess a Head, who would direct and combine their movements; the Guelfs would still be for nearly three years without a declared Head. It was an unhappy fate that forced Frederick to give up to a party what was meant for mankind.

A bird of ill-omen had already appeared at Augsburg, where the Imperial Chamber was held in June and July. Eccelin da Romano, the petrel of the coming storm, had secretly made his way thither; he and his brother were ready for war, and he knew that he could easily seduce his brother-in-law Salinguerra, the Lord of Ferrara, from the party of the Church.* Cæsar was entreated to enter Italy; the gate of Verona now stood wide open to him, and he would strike terror into his foes by coming down the Brenner with a few thousand Germans at his back. What advice Hermann von Salza gave at this juncture, we do not know; but he was assuredly in favour of peace, as Pope Gregory had already

* Laurentius de Monacis.

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requested his services in Italy as a mediator. Frederick was now like the Wildgrave in the German ballad, who rode between an angel and a devil, the one striving to restrain him from evil, the other urging him on to every kind of crime. But Von Salza, Frederick's good angel, had not three years more to spend on earth; the baleful Eccelin, on the other hand, was to outlive his employer, and was to cast a foul stain on his employer's memory.

Throughout this year, 1236, Pope Gregory had done his utmost for the cause of peace; it was indeed his interest, for if war were to break out in Italy, it would be the ruin of his darling Crusade. Three years more, and the Truce made with Sultan Kamel would be at an end. It was clearly for the interest of Rome that Frederick should give proof of his prowess on the Jordan rather than on the Oglio. If he were to conquer in Palestine, and complete the work left but half ended in 1229, it would bring everlasting honour to Gregory's Pontificate. If the Emperor were to be unfortunate in his Crusade, the failure would still be of use to the Church; she might sternly reprove him, trumpet his sins throughout Christendom, and declare that the enterprise had miscarried, owing to the unworthiness of her Champion. Should Frederick fall in battle or be carried off by some Eastern plague, Rome would decorously mourn her son, though her grief for his loss would be lightened by the pleasure of splitting up his vast realms, too large to be held by any single Sovereign. The Kingdom of Sicily might be safely given to the child Conrad, Rome acting as his guardian, as she had done in his father's case; the German Princes would of course choose a new King in the prime of life,

taken probably from some house less dangerous to Rome than that of Hohenstaufen.

Gregory had made a peace with his restless flock in 1235, their Senator Malebranca taking the oath on their behalf. They did not give way until they had stripped the Lateran Palace and pillaged the houses of the Cardinals. Frederick, then on his road to Germany, had written a congratulatory letter to the Pope on the occasion of the Peace, referring at the same time to his own efforts against the Romans in 1234. 'Although,' he says, 'we have suffered the loss of great personages and of much wealth, yet we are rejoiced at your success. Even though we ourselves are called away, yet we will not leave the Church defenceless.' Gregory had written to the Princes at Mayence, bidding them lay aside their national prejudices, and requesting that the whole business of Lombardy might be entrusted to himself. The Emperor answered, that the Princes would aid him in attacking the Italian rebels, unless the Pope could bring the Lombards to reason by Christmas.

In September, Gregory again put forward the subject he had most at heart, complaining of the sons of iniquity who were striving to sow discord between the Church and the Empire, and who had been plotting in an underhand way to further their views. The Papal letter entreated Frederick to stop his ears against those barkers at his side, who would be the ruin of his authority, were he to believe their lying tales. Gregory explained why he had relaxed the interdict denounced against the rebels in Palestine by the Archbishop of Ravenna, a staunch upholder of Frederick's sway. Peter de Vinea and the Bishop of Patti had been unable to set aside the decision of

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the Lateran on this point. The Pope wrote to Von Salza in Germany, bidding him keep the Emperor steady to his plighted word, Frederick having promised to make Rome umpire in the Lombard business. In October, the Grand Master was summoned to the presence of the Holy Father, and was accompanied by Gebhard von Arnstein. During the whole of the summer, the Patriarch of Antioch had been acting as Papal Legate in Lombardy. He had orders to send the magistrates of this lawless province to Rome by the first of December, that Gregory might arrange the business by Christmas day, the appointed time. Early in November, the Lombard deputies were assembled in the Palace of Guala the Bishop of Brescia, a wise statesman. So far from having any serious thoughts of peace, they renewed their League, into which they admitted Ferrara, engaging that city to forbid the passage of any Germans.

We have now arrived at the year 1236. Nothing of course had been arranged in Northern Italy, as the Pope himself acknowledges in the following letter to Frederick; 'We have received the account of your magnificent progress, and we have heard that by the advice of the Princes you placed the business of Lombardy in the hands of the Church, on condition however that it should be settled by Christmas day which has just passed, to the honour of the Empire; otherwise you threatened to enter Lombardy with an army. Still we ordered Von Salza to remind you, that you annexed no condition to the arrangement. The business has not been settled, because the Lombards did not send their messengers in time. A few days after Von Salza's departure they came, saying that they had been kept back by excusable hindrances, and

they offered a compromise in precise terms. We thought it best to take their offer and to call back Von Salza. We wrote to him accordingly, but he said that he was forced by your orders to go to you without delay. Send him back to us with full powers to complete the peace; if you attack Lombardy, Palestine is ruined.' Gregory wrote in the like strain to several of the Prelates of Germany, and sent the Bishop of Ascoli to keep the Lombards quiet. Nothing but the presence of Von Salza prevented them from seizing on Verona. They brought over Azzo of Este to their side and began to harass Eccelin. Frederick took it very ill, that his Holiness had struck out of the terms of peace a salvo in favour of the honour of the Empire.

Matters in Southern Italy, according to the Pope, were still worse; Lucera was becoming the eye-sore of the land. Gregory thus writes to Frederick in February;—'The Churches are being robbed by your ministers; the pastors are banished, taxed, and impleaded in your Courts. There are no free elections, but the Churches are given over to adulterous embraces; heresy is invading the Catholic faith; the walls of Babylon are being built upon the ruins of Jerusalem, and the arsenals of the Hagarenes are rising upon the foundations of Zion. The stones of churches are forced to migrate to the spot where Mohammed is worshipped; the uncircumcised, posted in the midst of the Kingdom, are poisoning the Catholic faith; the Hebrews are being oppressed by the Egyptians. Some nobles have been stripped of their castles and goods; their wives and children have been brought to beggary; we believe these persons to be guiltless. The Church has to blush;

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those who take our side are specially marked out for oppression; these things we speak of our own sure knowledge. You take credit to yourself for scorning those liars, who say it was the Church that caused the renewal of the Lombard League. If the Lombards are standing on their own defence, if the Veronese have elected Regnier of Marzan as their Podesta, bidding him turn neither to the right nor to the left, this should not be set down to us. We shall proceed against all who rise up against the Church. Lend your ear to no calumnies, try to heal the wounds of the sorely-afflicted Kingdom, and believe that we have hitherto treated you only too mildly.'

Frederick's rejoinder came from Spires, dated on the 16th of April. 'We are not embittered against you, owing to false accusations laid to your charge; but we are embittered against those who try to make us believe lies, so that unless we were forced to have a good opinion of you, the case would be different. O Father, you are bringing us very slow succour, if we may say so, while you are misled by improbable grounds of suspicion against us. You charge us with the faults of our Officials in Sicily, just as if we could see clearly from Germany into Sicily with the eyes of a lynx and with the voice of thunder. Thus you assert without a doubt whatever any lying tongue has told you about the oppression of the clergy; and what wounds us most, about adulterous embraces and about the transfer of the stones of Churches to unhallowed spots. We could have made a better reply, had you stooped to particulars; but we answer in a general way, that all these matters are far from our knowledge, unless you ascribe to our enmity what the execution of law demands.

We think that we do you no wrong, if we enjoy our right to recall our own domain lands into our Treasury; if we effect exchanges with holy places, giving an indemnity; if we exercise the right of elections, according to the custom of our predecessors in the Kingdom. You, who long for peace in Sicily, should not set over the Churches disloyal Prelates, or the sons of disloyal vassals, who have cost us much already. It is better that a Church be vacant for a time, than that it should be a source of damage to us for ever. Our Officials, it is true, are sometimes misled by zeal and do wrong to Churchmen; but we have charged our ministers to prevent this, and Von Salza has had our orders to put an end to it. We cannot be silent on the conduct of certain men, whom we might blot out of the book of the living for countless causes. They have complained to you of Churches being ruined, and of the Saracens being brought into Apulia. As to the last, at great cost and danger to ourselves, we removed them from the mountainous parts of Sicily, where they had killed more Christians than are now living on that island; and we settled them in a plain amongst Christians, that they might be won over to baptism. In fact, their Cadis have complained to us that already one third of their number have adopted Christianity, and the rest will soon follow. Lastly, we must not pass over the tail of your letter, in which you threaten to excommunicate the Veronese, who have come over to us and banished their townsmen, the partizans of the Lombards. Some men, perhaps sons of tares, are of opinion that you wish to reannex that city to the Lombard League. Though we disbelieve this,

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yet it will be for your honour to gainsay this report, as it is widely spread. Had you considered all this, you would not have added to your letter the remark, that you could be tolerant no longer. As to the business of Cyprus and the Patriarch of Jerusalem, we will answer you when, by God's help, we come into Italy.'

Frederick wrote another letter to Gregory much later in the year, which we subjoin here, as it bears almost entirely upon Sicilian affairs. It will be remarked that the Emperor takes a high tone, being then at the head of a German army which he had led into Lombardy. 'We have just heard from our envoys news, which you yourself ought to have given us in a proper way, and speedily, by your own messenger. Your chaplain, Gregory of Romagna, came into our presence, and we received from him no satisfaction. You seem to sleep over our complaints, and you send us more demands. You make various charges, some very vague; but we will answer them. We are aware of no Churches or ecclesiastics in the Kingdom being maltreated, unless you refer to our maintenance of our rights, bequeathed to us by our forefathers. If the Clergy are taxed, you should call this the carrying out of the law, not a wrong done to them. They are very seldom impleaded for any thing but High Treason. In the elections of Bishops, we do but exercise the old rights of our forefathers; they never rose to the height of greatness to which we have climbed; and we will not be cheated out of what the Church granted to them. We should like to know from you the names of our Officials, who nominate or reject Prelates; still certain collations belong to us. We have conferred vacant benefices by old custom. We

will punish those who hinder the preaching of the Catholic faith and the business of the Holy Land, our special burden. Yet we dislike those preachers, who sharpen their tongues to abuse us, gather crowds of men under their banners, and seize on the goods of our subjects; as Brother John did at Verona, of which he called himself perpetual Lord. A friar in Apulia did the like, assembling many men under his own banner. We forbid this; but we gladly allow the word of God to be preached, so long as the preachers keep within proper bounds. As to the Holy Land, we reserve to ourselves all taxes collected on its behalf, thinking it wrong that clergymen should be made collectors. It is false, that our Christian subjects in the Kingdom are placed under the rule of Pagans. As to the prosecution of the Nobles, we have punished our over-zealous Officials; but we mean to maintain our full rights over Benevento, as our forefathers did; and so we have instructed our ministers. We will resign to your Chaplain Alatrino any benefices wrongfully seized. We shall not allow the repair of the churches of Sora, which like Carthage has undergone the plough on account of its rebellion; they would be useless, as we intend that city to be for ever desolate. As to the Castle of Monreale, we destroyed it at the request of the monks, who could not make head against the Saracens; nothing must be done, until we return and view the spot. If any thing has been carried off from the Church of Monreale, which we admire as the noble work of our predecessors, it shall be wholly restored. The same shall be done with the Church of Squillace. As to that of Molfetta and certain monasteries, we have made exchanges with them, holding them harm-

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less, and we have not offended justice. If our Officials have not given these Churches proper satisfaction, we will issue orders to that effect, provided that the malice of the Prelates be no obstacle. They might often assist us, and still act conscientiously. The complaints of the Cistercian Order are most ungrateful; we have favoured them much, and we think they might help us in the construction of our buildings; the burden is only temporary. We deny the charge brought against us of collating young and unworthy clergymen, though it is true that we do favour our loyal servants. The Bishop of Gerace was our Notary, not our Esquire; we gave our assent to his consecration; and if any part of that office which falls under you has been omitted, you will easily be able to remedy it. We claim our own in things temporal; we hinder you not in things spiritual. We disapprove of the conduct of our Officials, if they have prevented your Bishops from prosecuting usurers; our own Constitutions have punished that crime. You should not have believed that we forbade the building of new Churches in our newly constructed cities, if they are meant for Christians; the Israelites had their tabernacle, even in the wilderness. We acknowledge, that we assert our rights over Churches built in our new foundations. We confess that we have driven out of our realm the disloyal Bishop of Cefalu, and the Archdeacon of Salerno, whom, as being a traitor and of a race of traitors, we would not allow to stay in our Kingdom after our departure from it. We issued an edict at Fano, and we sent word by Von Salza, that the Churches were not to be wronged in the matter of purveyance. Do not think it absurd, if our laws forbid Bishops being appointed Notaries Public. The

Jews, both in the Empire and the Kingdom, are under the Common law; but we have not abstracted them from any Church. We will make fresh enquiries of the nephew of the King of Tunis, whether he is of his own free will ready to receive baptism. We have just cause for wonder, on hearing that you have excommunicated the loyal Count of Toulouse to our prejudice, since he has not been stripped of his fiefs by us or by the sentence of the Princes. To provide a remedy for the wrongs of the Churches, we issued orders from Fano to our Ministers, to hold a solemn Court at Melfi, and there to weigh the complaints of the Prelates, Templars, and Hospitallers; yet some men cunningly declare, that we gave instructions the reverse of these. Von Salza has had orders to hold a fresh Court, that our Ministers may hear all complaints and bring them to a speedy end. We have also sent letters to particular Officials, which we think will satisfy you. If there be any defect, remember that you refused to give up to us Citta di Castello, against the advice of your Brethren and against your own conscience.'

Gregory was very angry at the Imperial appeal to his conscience, and made a stern rejoinder in October, rebuking Frederick for his tart language, in which there was 'no manna of sweetness;' he again referred to the oppression of the Sicilian Churches, and to the vague promises of amendment made by his correspondent, which were never fulfilled. 'You destroy the affirmative of our statement by the negative of Imperial ignorance. You have no right to Citta di Castello; the burghers betrayed it to you, breaking their oath to us; the jurisdiction over it belongs to the Church. You

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have no business to pry into the secrets of our conscience; our Judge is in Heaven. You see that the necks and hearts of Kings are bowed before the knees of priests. God has reserved the Apostolic See, the mistress of the world, for His own judgment alone. Uzziah was smitten for laying hands on the Ark; the tribe of Kohath was threatened with the like punishment, if its members should dare to pry into the tabernacle or the holy vessels, which were entrusted to Aaron alone. What about your own conscience? do you keep your oath? You cannot confer those offices, to which the cure of souls is annexed. Our brother the Bishop of Cefalu and the Archdeacon of Salerno are banished, we know not wherefore; you condemned them without consulting the Church. We speak not of the man who calls himself Bishop of Gerace, an election void by ecclesiastical law. Then as to the nephew of the King of Tunis, why is he in chains, when he was coming to us for baptism? You say, that you had to ask for the King's leave; you should obey God rather than man. Would that all, who have a good cause, were as rebellious as this convert! You favoured the Count of Toulouse, though he was an excommunicated man. Think of the deeds of your predecessors, of Constantine, of Charlemagne, of Arcadius, of Valentinian! Constantine, aware that the Father ought to be endowed with temporal Sovereignty, made a gift to the Pope and bestowed on him the badges and Sceptre of the Empire, the City with the whole of its Duchy, which you are trying to bribe into rebellion against us. Constantine, leaving Italy to the Apostolic disposal, chose a new abode in Greece; and the Empire was afterwards transferred to the

Germans in the person of Charlemagne, a fact which has given you the power of the sword. The priests of Christ are the fathers and masters of all faithful Kings. Why does the Son blame the Father? If you are subject to us, much more are they, who receive dignity from you, subject to us. The priests and Bishops in your Kingdom are under our sway, since Genus must be predicated of whatever comes under Species. You are hindering the recovery of Palestine; we warn you to amend what is wrong.'

In this letter, which contains passages worthy of Hildebrand or Boniface, Gregory borrows weapons from the armoury of History, and ends with an illustration from the Logic of the Schools. The Papal allusion to Constantine sounds strange to a modern ear; that Emperor would have stared, if told that his change from Rome to Byzantium had been dictated by courteous deference to the successor of St. Peter. But Historical accuracy cannot be expected in the Thirteenth Century even from His Holiness, who speaks with confidence on the endowment of Pope Sylvester, a long-exploded legend.

It is now time to mark what had been going forward in Lombardy during the year 1236. In March, the Emperor's party made an attempt to heal the wounds of civil war in that country. Hermann von Salza, Gebhard von Arnstein, Peter de Vinea, Thaddeus of Sessa, and Simon Count of Chieti met the Podestas of many of the Northern States at Piacenza, where a Parliament was held. Peter made a speech on the great Light seen by the people that dwelt in darkness, and bade the assembly prepare to celebrate the desired feast of the Lord. At this very time the nobles of Piacenza were in banishment, and intent

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upon harassing the Commons of the city.* Gregory was zealous as ever in the cause of peace. In April the task of restoring concord had been given to the Bishop of Ascoli; but in June the Pope made one more effort to stave off the threatening war. He summoned Von Salza from Germany to Rome. He refused to grant the Emperor's request, that the Patriarch of Antioch might again be sent into Lombardy; but a new Legate was despatched, James the Cardinal Bishop of Palestrina, a Cistercian whom Frederick always regarded with the greatest disgust. The Bishop's efforts in Lombardy, during former years, had been most unsuccessful. He now made Piacenza his head-quarters, banished the Podesta, and brought in soldiers of the other faction; thenceforward that city became Guelf.† Gregory thus writes of him, from Terni, in June; 'We have sent our venerable Brother, in whom we have always firm trust, that he will cherish the honour of both Church and Empire.' The Pope also warns the Archbishops of Milan and Ravenna and the other Northern Prelates to bestir themselves in the work of peace; he complains of a false report that had been spread, which marked the Cardinal Bishop of Palestrina as a favourer of the Lombard rebels. Frederick himself branded the new Mediator as a wolf in sheep's clothing, declaring that the Bishop had brought over Piacenza to the side of Milan, thus withdrawing the little state from the Ghibelline side. Gregory on the other hand pointed to the union effected at Piacenza between fathers, sons, brethren, and cousins, and to the protestations of the Bishop that nothing had been

* Chronicon. † Chronicon.

done to prejudice the rights of the Empire.* Frederick threatened James, and wrote to the Pope respecting the new envoy; Gregory sent his answer from Rieti in October; one part of the epistle bearing on Sicily has already been given. 'Since, like the Mediator between God and man, we have despatched a Legate into Lombardy, in order to make peace, (the interests of the Empire, the advantage of the Church, and the peril of souls called us to peace,) our messenger is one who ought not to be viewed with jealousy by you, being a man who has flown up to the height of Divine love. Who can object to him a wrinkle of suspicion, or a mole upon his purity and holiness of life? You say, his birth is not high enough; still his office changes him into another man. We sent him to aid your projects; the loss of the Empire is the loss of the Church. We have usurped none of your rights or offices, although you gainsay this. We chose a minister who cannot be suspected by you, and whose mind is free from worldly thoughts. Ask Hermann von Salza, who told us openly that the Bishop had done nothing wrong, and who praised him for his love of justice. Nought can be laid to his charge, if he has restored peace at Piacenza. It is infamy to you, if you disdain the mediation of the Church. Even if the Bishop be not altogether on your side, you ought not on that account to call him your enemy; we will do you justice against him. We have not been slothful about the business of Lombardy, as Von Salza will satisfy you; he it was, who advised us to send to you our Chaplain on the subject of the peace. The Lombards cannot be

* See the letters for 1239.

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accused of refusing peace; the Patriarch of Antioch has been among them for that object. They have altogether wiped out that blot of contumacy, if so it may be called, of not appearing in proper time.' Later in the year Gregory sent other Legates into Lombardy for the Imperial satisfaction; they were his own nephew Rinaldo the Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, and Thomas the Cardinal of St. Sabina. The Pope at the same time wrote to all the Archbishops and their suffragans; 'We ask you to receive our Legates as Angels of peace, and to set your thoughts on the alliance between Church and Empire, on the correction of heresy, and on the Crusade.' But Frederick would not agree to the proposals of the two new Legates, though the one was his old correspondent, and the other was a subject of the Kingdom; and though they were ready to come up to, and even to go beyond, the terms he had before demanded. He resolved, as the Pope says, to gall his own and his follower's shoulders with long and useless toils, rather than allow the Church to re-establish his rights.* At the same time, he is accused of having stirred up Peter Frangipane and other partizans of the Empire at Rome to a fresh sedition, directed against Gregory.

While these complicated negotiations were thus tediously dragging on, Frederick had at last appeared in Italy. He had first made the following proclamation of his intentions in May. 'We are ready to pay our own debts, we must exact those due to us from others. Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, as the Scriptures say.' Here follows much about the renown of the Holy Roman Empire; Fre-

* Letters for 1239.

derick will not allow the city of Rome to be harassed by heretics. 'Jerusalem, Sicily, and Germany are obedient to us; we wish to make Northern Italy equally docile. This also will further the Crusade; for we cannot undertake it, with Northern Italy in revolt; from that country we expect great assistance in the cause of the Holy Land. We have given out that in the present summer we shall enter Lombardy in person, together with our Princes. We are moved by three considerations; the wish to root out heresy; the desire to administer peace and justice; and the furtherance of the Crusade. The Truce with the Sultan is almost at an end. We have proclaimed a solemn Diet at Piacenza, whither we invite envoys from all the cities in Italy. We shall have many of our Princes there, and ambassadors from all the Kings of the West, who are almost all connected with us. If the insolence of the rebels be so great, that they will regard neither the business of God nor the honour of the Empire, we shall draw the sword against them. We shall send one of our Princes before us, to receive into favour the repentant, and to proclaim the Ban against the rebels. On the Feast of St. John the Baptist we shall move our conquering Eagles from Augsburg, fixing the Diet for St. James' day.'

Frederick now bethought him of assembling an army for the conquest of Italy. But times were changed since the days of his grandfather and father. The former had been able to lead a host of 100,000 men across the Alps to the siege of Milan, when even the King of Bohemia had been proud to serve. Henry the Sixth had been able to prevail on many of the highest Princes to follow him to the con-

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quest of Sicily. But Frederick the Second found that the old Empire was breaking up; the Princes cared little for barren laurels to be won in Italy; they had a more tempting object at home, in rooting fast the power of their respective families, according to the license granted them in 1220 and 1232; the houses of Guelf and Wittelsbach needed consolidation. As to the spiritual Princes, there were none among them ready to serve their Kaiser, as Christian of Mayence and Raynald of Cologne had served his grandsire, even attacking the Pope himself, if so ordered. Not one Prince could be found to pave the way for his master in Italy, according to the promise held out in Frederick's last-quoted proclamation. Henceforward, but few of the Princes took the trouble even to appear at the Diets held to the South of the Alps. The old order of things was speedily passing away; old ties were being loosened; new interests were being established; and a change was fast taking place in Germany, at which Charlemagne, Otho, or even Henry the Sixth would have stood aghast.

Frederick found it hard to get together an army. Most of the Germans thought that he should trust to the Italian Ghibellines, or to the forces of his own Kingdom. Very few could be made to enlist in the district of the Lower Rhine. Even in Alsace and Suabia, where the Hohenstaufen interest was of course strongest, the Kaiser could only gain followers by a free-handed distribution of the English gold, brought him by his new Empress. He had named Gebhard von Arnstein his Vicar in Italy, to whom he thus writes from Augsburg; 'We have received with joy the letters of your devotion; you mention a report in Lombardy, that we shall be de-

tained in person by the troubles in Austria. Let all men know, that we have ordered out four armies for the Austrian service; nevertheless, we ourselves march towards Italy on the 11th of July in very great force. Be strong in our service, make use of the body of knights we have sent before us, and give notice of our approach.'

The Kaiser was at Augsburg on the 27th of June, and was assembling his troops at Lechfeld.* Though himself intent on Italy, he did not overlook the war on the Danube. He entered into a league with the King of Bohemia, the Duke of Bavaria, the Margrave of Brandenburg, and the Bishops of Bamberg and Passau, whereby he bound himself to make no peace with the Duke of Austria without their consent. The rebel was proscribed in the Diet of Augsburg, and deprived of all his honours by the sentence of the Princes, which was speedily carried into execution. Duke Frederick's nobles revolted against him, and in a short time all Austria was subdued except a few very strong castles. This conquest took place during the Kaiser's absence from Germany.†

Before he began his march, he transacted much business. The Archbishop of Salzburg procured an edict, which forbade any molestation of persons on their way to the tribunals by the high roads. The cities of Lubeck, Mayence, and Strasburg were each endowed with a Charter. All oppression of the burghers by the Imperial Officials was forbidden. A letter was sent to Amadeus, the new Count of Savoy, the eldest of a family of six brothers, renowned in Church and State. He received the promise of

* Godefr. Colon. † Herm. Altahensis. Godefr. Colon.

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knighthood at the Imperial hands, an honour which had been refused him at Haguenau; he was exhorted to give all the aid in his power against the Lombard rebels, following the example of his father. Frederick sent other letters to the Romans, demanding the presence of envoys from the city of the Cæsars. This order had to be afterwards repeated, with a rebuke for their sloth and an appeal to the descendants of the old Trojans. Would they tamely see Milan become the rival of Rome? They had now a King, who, to exalt the Roman Empire, had jeoparded his person, opened his treasures, and spared no toils.

In July, according to his promise, the Kaiser set out from Augsburg, leaving behind him his Empress and his heir. He marched by Werda and Gunzen, crossing the Brenner at the head of 1000 knights, each of whom probably had two or three attendants.* This was but a small body of men, to achieve the conquest of Lombardy. He received, however, about this period a seasonable supply of money from his English brother-in-law, who sent him 5000 marks, begging at the same time for indulgence as to the payment of the rest. Frederick marched at the head of his little army down to Brixen. Here he was beset by a crowd of complainants, craving vengeance on their rapacious oppressors. The Emperor summoned the Bishop, who alleged his age and ailments as a reason for the total break-down of the administration of justice in his diocese. By his own desire, the feeble Prelate gave up to the Empire all the temporal rights of his See, contenting himself with his spiritual duties. He also promised to take

* Chron. Veronense.

the advice of his Chapter before he alienated his revenues; the Duke of Carinthia was installed in one of the Bishop's Castles.

The Emperor reached Trent on the 12th of August, where he was met by Eccelin and Alberic of Romano, the Count of Tyrol, and other vassals. He forbade the Bishop of Trent to alienate the goods of the See. Four days later, Frederick was received with great triumph at the monastery of St. Zeno in Verona. The Montecchi, those enemies of the Capulets better known to us as the Montagues, were rejoiced to welcome the Emperor.* Verona, Guelf in 1226, was now under the rule of Eccelin, and had become a stronghold of the Ghibelline cause. It was the refuge of all the worst characters, and had just received within its walls the murderers of the Bishop of Mantua. Here Frederick found 500 German knights, whom Gebhard von Arnstein had led across the Alps three months before this time. Here also he was joined by 200 knights from Modena.† The very day after his arrival at Verona, he marched to Vacaldo, where he staid a fortnight. The Count of San Bonifazio was holding Mantua against him. The Lombards came forth with their whole strength, encamping at Montechiari; yet they dared not fight.

All this time, Frederick was attended by Baldwin de Vere, who had come on a secret embassy from the King of England, bringing part of the dowry of the Empress. According to this knight's story, which he was afterwards very ready to tell to any listeners, the Emperor was fully aware that the

* Chron. Veronense. Chronicon.

† Memoriale Potestatum Reginensium.

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Lombards had even at this time powerful backers, who as yet kept themselves unseen. In fact, the rebels had received help from the Pope. Frederick called a council of war, where all, high and low, were eager to fight, and to crush the Milanese mice that had dared to creep out of their holes. The enemy heard of this plan, and held a debate, where an old citizen, who carried great weight, spoke as follows. 'Listen to me: the Emperor is at hand in great strength, and all the world knows that he is our Lord. If we fight, we shall be losers, whatever be the upshot; for if we win, we shall gain a victory over our own Lord; if we lose, he will blot out our name and destroy our city for ever. These being the consequences, I advise a retreat to our home; if he attacks us there, we shall be justified in repelling force by force; and whether he grants us peace or constrains us to drive him off, our city will be safe and our good name will remain stainless.' This plan in the end was acted upon, much to Frederick's joy.* The Cremonese, together with the forces of Parma, Reggio, and Modena, were for some time unable to join him, as he was on the other side of the Oglio; they made their way through the Brescian country on the night of the 11th of September, passing at only two miles distance from the rebel camp. Frederick, hearing of their approach, marched at break of day to meet them, after sounding his trumpets. He mounted his horse and in a loud voice thus complained to his chiefs; 'Here are pilgrims and travellers going whithersoever they please; yet I do not dare to pass through lands subject to

* M. Paris.

the Empire!' He grasped the standard of the Eagle in his own hand and crossed the Mincio, followed by his army. After meeting the Italian Ghibellines he pitched his camp at Godi, and thence laid waste the lands of Mantua. He took Marcaria, and also Mosio, which was abandoned by its Milanese garrison.* He spent a fortnight in ravaging the country, and was then received by his loyal Cremonese gossips in their own city, where envoys from Tuscany and Romagna waited upon him.† Piacenza made herself in this time of danger a wall and a shield for the Lombard League. The Milanese took post there and at Lodi, being resolved to prevent the Emperor from visiting Pavia, his other stronghold.‡ But he was now called off in another direction by a far more pressing danger.

Azzo, the Marquess of Este, was the head of the Guelfs in the Trevisan March. He had lately married a niece of his to the King of Hungary, a fact which proves the rapid rise of Azzo's house. He had been appointed by a Friar, who swayed the politics of Vicenza, to the office of Podesta of that city; one chronicler accuses him of having been its death and destruction.§ He was a stern foe to the house of Romano, and had ravaged the lands of Eccelin this very year. Nor did he pay any respect to Eccelin's patron; for when Frederick wrote to Vicenza, directing the citizens to send envoys to the Imperial Court at Parma, Azzo published an edict, that no one should dare to mention the Emperor or to make any account of his name, on

* Chronicon.
† Ric. San Germano.
‡ Bart. Scriba. Ann. Genuen.
§ Antonio Godi.

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pain of death. When Frederick entered Verona, he again sent letters to Vicenza. The Marquess would not look at these, and forbade any one to speak to the Emperor's envoys, one of whom was the famous Judge Roffrid.

'I was forbidden,' thus says our old friend Gerard Maurisius the Notary, 'under penalty of 1000 pounds, to go to the Bishop's Palace, where the envoys were. However I called one of them down to me and gave him my advice. I was banished by the Marquess to Padua, where I fell sick, and I was threatened with a longer exile.' Azzo drew many men into the League against the Imperial authority; he is the type of the thorough-going Guelf partizan. Vicenza, Padua, and Treviso were active on the same side. These three towns, together with Biaquin the Lord of Camino, sent their forces to besiege Eccelin in Verona, to which city they did great damage. The Ghibelline chief, being sore pressed, wrote to his master at Cremona for speedy succour.

The march made by Frederick, on hearing these tidings, was the wonder of the age. 'He, a most benignant Lord, feeling for his loyal subjects who were being tormented, in wrath flew through the air.'* Another chronicler remarks; 'He was like a swallow flying through the air to rescue Verona.'† Rolandini says; 'In one day and night Frederick came from Cremona to San Bonifazio; there he halted, so that his men might take a hurried mouthful of bread, and then he marched on.' It was certainly a wonderful forced march, if we consider the bad-

* Gerard Maurisius. † Antonio Godi.

ness of the roads and the distance, which is about sixty miles as the crow flies.

The Paduans were the first to run, on hearing that the Emperor was at San Bonifazio and could thus cut off their retreat to their city; the men of Vicenza and Treviso soon followed, leaving all their spoils and tents. They had been for some time detained before the Castle of Rivalta, seventeen miles to the North of Verona; this Eccelin had promised to relieve by a given day. Frederick did not slacken his speed, after his march from the Po to the Adige, but appeared before Vicenza, ere her own citizens or the Marquess could arrive; indeed the first news of the disaster that had befallen their city was announced to them by its conflagration.* The Emperor had no wish to damage the town, knowing that Azzo was the only guilty rebel; he first tried a parley, promising the townsmen their lives and their goods. Nothing could be gained; Eccelin, therefore, advised the Emperor to storm the place, which was done on the first of November; the walls were scaled, and then a gate was burst open; Frederick entered 'like a most stern Draco.' The Germans and Veronese showed no mercy; the whole city was soon the scene of murder, rape, and robbery. No age or sex was spared; the bell-tower was fired, and one of its guards was killed by a fall from its top. The chronicler mourns that the glory and honour of the city was quenched.† Eccelin saw a German noble bent on outraging some of the ladies of Vicenza; finding the foreigner deaf to the word of command to quit the prey, the Italian smote off the brute's head.

* Chronicon. † Antonio Godi.

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Frederick, who was standing by, thought the punishment rather out of bounds; but Eccelin answered; 'I should have done the same to you, Emperor, had you been guilty of so great a scandal.'* He probably thought that his master needed a hint on this subject.

It may easily be believed that the rough Transalpine warriors, little versed in Italian politics, made no distinction between Guelf and Ghibelline. Gerard Maurisius gives us the result of his experience of this awful night at Vicenza. 'I, though a most faithful subject, was seized by the Germans and bound, whereas I ought to have been most honourably rewarded by Frederick; for I alone, when no one else dared to do it, openly withstood the Lombard League, siding against the Marquess. I did this out of love to the Emperor and the Lords of Romano, not like others, out of hatred to the Milanese. I was a most faithful trumpet in preaching loyalty; others were rewarded; I am not. I have not ceased to preach like any Dominican, for I have seen Frederick's justice towards his subjects, his glory, and his most righteous customs. Now, since I have been robbed, neither Frederick nor the Lords of Romano recognize me; none do, save a few friends; may the Lord help me! For three days I walked through the city in a most mean garment; some gave me money to buy back my books, and to get food and raiment. I excuse our Lord the Emperor, because I was unknown to him; and also the Lords of Romano, because of the dangers that threatened them; I was ever true to them, and so I remain, sure

* Chron. Patavinum. Also the Imago Mundi.

of reward. I saw many noble ladies and people of both sexes stripped naked; one man could hardly recognize another; all were punished, the just with the unjust.'

Here Gerard quotes some texts from the Bible and the Decretals, on the duty of obeying the powers that be. He goes on; 'We at Vicenza suffered for the fault of a few; although our merciful Lord Frederick might have ruined all the citizens, he pitied them, gave them back their real property, and ordered Eccelin to set free the prisoners, but to detain the rebels. Many Guelfs were released, but I was thrust out at midnight by the Germans, naked and stripped of all.' This narrative, the experience of one man, gives us some idea of the cruel woes undergone by the Italians for more than thirty years after this date.

Frederick found that he must now hurry back into Germany, to crush the Duke of Austria, who was not easily overcome by the loyalists. The German Gebhard was left behind to command in the Trevisan March, with strict orders to do nothing without the advice of Eccelin. It is said that the Emperor took the Lord of Romano into the Bishop's garden, and gave him a lesson on the art of government by cutting off the longest blades of grass with a knife. It is added, that Frederick had not the least idea of the progress already made by his pupil, who humbly answered, 'I will keep in mind the orders of the Lord Emperor.' * The story, as every one knows, is told of other Sovereigns who reigned long before Frederick; if true, it shows his acquaintance with Ovid. He now

* Antonio Godi.

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wished to make trial of the skill of one of his astrologers, and accordingly bade him name the gate by which his Lord would leave the town. The Emperor received a paper, and was requested not to open it until he had quitted Vicenza. He went forth through a breach made in the walls, and then found in the paper the following words, 'Through a new gate the King shall go out.' The lucky astrologer was of course after this held in higher esteem than ever. * Frederick on the 15th of November, after burning some villages of the enemy, went Eastward to Cartura and Cittadella; at the latter place he admired the strength of the Castle and the fruitfulness of the neighbouring country. He next journeyed by Castel Franco to Fontanella, where he halted for some time, hoping that Treviso would yield to him; but he was once more thwarted by its Podesta, Tiepolo of Venice, who held it with a garrison. Frederick was therefore fain to proceed on his march across the rapid Piave; and passing not far from Aquileia with the greater part of his army, he crossed the Alps on his German expedition. † He was followed by Acerra and Morra, who had come up from the Kingdom too late to find him still in Lombardy. ‡

His first warlike assault upon the Lombards had not been of a very brilliant character; his chief feats had been a wonderful march and the sack of a town. But he left behind him able lieutenants to carry on his work. They underwent a disaster soon after his departure; the Mantuans on Christmas eve recovered

* Antonio Godi. † Rolandini.

‡ Ric. San Germano.

his conquest Marcaria, either killing or taking the whole of the Cremonese garrison.* But Gebhard and Eccelin turned their eyes Eastward. Old Salinguerra had brought over Ferrara to their side in November, and the Lords of Camino had changed their politics in December.† The Emperor's lieutenants seized 200 Paduan knights in the Castle of Cartura; these they brought to Monselice and afterwards set free; the surrender of Padua was the result.‡ The city had placed Azzo at her head, looking upon him as her shield and protector; her burghers, divided by faction, cried, 'O happy Venice, where all make the common weal their sole object, and swear by the State as if it were God!' Eccelin contrived to win over Azzo to his side, on condition that the lands of the Marquess should not be taxed by the Emperor.§ On the 25th of February, 1237, Gebhard and Eccelin made their entry into Padua. The friar Jordan, who had been the cause of all the strife in the March, if Maurisius says true, acted as ambassador to the Ghibellines. Eccelin would not receive the homage of the Paduans, but transferred it to Gebhard, as being the Emperor's Legate. 'It was the Devil who put it into the hearts of the Paduans to yield to Eccelin, whom they used to hunt like a wolf.'‖ This is the opinion of a Guelf annalist.

The new Shepherd's demeanour, on coming into the city, was most peaceable. 'I myself saw,' says Rolandini, 'that when he entered the gate, he bowed and kissed it; whence many drew happy auguries.' It was the kiss of Judas; twenty years of the most

* Mem. Pot. Reginen. † Chronicon. ‡ Malvecius.
§ Laur. de Monacis. ‖ Chron. Estense.

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frightful misrule were in store for Padua. Eccelin made a speech in praise of the goodness of the Emperor; hostages were taken; friar Jordan, called by the Guelfs, 'the father of Padua,' though branded as a hypocrite by the Ghibellines, was thrown into prison. Arnold, the Abbot of St. Justina, 'a good man, who had favour with God and man,' was glad to escape, knowing that Eccelin meant to seize him. He fled to Ferrara, though its Lord Salinguerra had just declared for the Emperor; the Abbot afterwards lay hid in Monselice until Frederick's return. The city of Treviso, finding that it could not stand alone in the March, surrendered to Eccelin.* The Proconsul hastened to secure his new conquests with foreign garrisons. He took into his pay 300 Saracens, and 100 German knights were also at his bidding.† There were, besides, many mountaineers in arms for Eccelin and his master. Simon, Count of Chieti, was elected Podesta of Padua, and Alberic held the like office in Vicenza. 'All four cities,' cries the exulting Maurisius, meaning Verona, Vicenza, Padua, and Treviso, 'are now in the hands of the two brothers; only a few men are still holding out, who deserve the severest punishment from the Emperor.' Gebhard, by his colleague's advice, went off to Germany, to report the hopeful state of affairs. Eccelin, left alone in command, tightened the reins; he made no distinction between clergy and laity, as the Bishop of Padua found to his cost. That Prelate appeared, followed by many priests, and delivered an angry remonstrance against the imprisonment of Brother Jordan; whereupon Eccelin fined him 2000 silver marks, and

* Mon. Patavinus. † Rolandini.

bade him hold his tongue.* The Governor banished some of the Paduan nobles, together with their sons. In July, he attacked one of his chief enemies, the Count of San Bonifazio; he led out the forces of Verona, Vicenza, and Padua, and laid siege to his rival's castle for three months, employing new mangonels.†

During the whole of this time, negotiations for peace were being carried on. Gregory had replaced, as we have seen, the obnoxious Bishop of Palestrina by two fresh Legates, the Bishop of Ostia and the Cardinal of St. Sabina. Frederick, in a letter written in March, 1237, complained bitterly of the conduct of the former Legate in Lombardy, but hoped that Rome would disavow her envoy. Yet it seemed that the two Cardinals had exactly the same instructions as the Bishop of Palestrina. The Emperor, against his own judgment, sent to the Pope Hermann von Salza for almost the last time, at the earnest request of that tried friend, who, as being half monk and half soldier, was the best man to mediate between Church and Empire. The exaltation of the one was the exaltation of the other, as Frederick once more repeated. Von Salza, with whom Peter de Vinea had been joined, returned from Rome in May.‡ Gregory sent word at the same time that he had given them a fair hearing, and that he was despatching the two Cardinals into Lombardy. He wrote to Brescia, one of the most uncompromising members of the Lombard League, ordering that city to send envoys to meet those of Rome at Mantua, about Whitsuntide. The Pope's letter ended with

* Maurisius. † Chron. Veronense. ‡ Ric. San Germano.

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this prophetic sentence; 'If the business from any cause be postponed, which God forbid, a danger may be impending that may scarcely hereafter be removed at the cost of many toils.' The Cardinals were ordered to make use of spiritual weapons to enforce peace throughout Lombardy, Romagna, and the Trevisan March. One of the Emperor's Judges at the same time commanded the citizens of Conegliano to restore the booty of which they had stripped their neighbours, and the edict was signed by Rolandini, the Paduan notary, one of the best of our guides.

The two Cardinals were glad to exchange the marshes around Mantua for the more healthy air of Brescia. Here they staid for one month, and were met by envoys from many of the states, as also by Peter de Vinea and Thaddeus of Sessa, who appeared in behalf of Frederick. The Patriarch of Antioch, a statesman well acquainted with Lombard diplomacy, and the Archbishop of Messina, were also present.* The Cardinals sent word to the Pope that they had fixed upon the end of July as the last day for settling the dispute. In their letter to Rome, they drew a sad picture of the state of Lombardy. 'As we passed along, we found the cities harassing one another with hostile sword, and we remarked the inhuman treatment of the prisoners taken. The evil of discord has become so inveterate, that we know not what part of the province should be free from blame and punishment. Sword, fire, and oppression are everywhere. At our prayer, the captives in some states have been freed from their fetters, and have been transferred from close dungeons to free custody.

* Chronicon.

We write this, not in our own praise, but to arouse the wisdom of our Employer. Forethought and power are both needed in this state of things.'

The zeal of the worthy Ambassadors must have been spurred on by a letter which shortly arrived from Germany, wherein Hermann von Salza set before them the danger that was speedily approaching. 'As we have already sent you word, the Emperor has gone towards Augsburg, on his way to Lombardy. We have resolved to attend him, and we hope, if the Lord will, to be with you about the Feast of the Assumption; that we may, agreeably to the Pope's wishes, mediate a peace.' Here Hermann informs the Cardinals about a Chapter of his Order lately held at Marburg, which boded no good to Italy; and he thus goes on; 'You will see that, if peace is to be made, an assembly of the Lombards must be instantly convoked. Cæsar will not delay at Verona, as he did last year, nor will the words of the Lombards detain him, if the swords and lances of the Germans are free. He will let loose the wrath of his men the instant of his arrival, if peace be not made. The treaty would be glorious in the sight of God and man. But if this time the Lombards take no heed to our earnestness, and if they will persist in their wonted haughtiness, we shall not be able to treat of peace, against the will of all our brethren. Before God and man we excuse ourselves; for we are striving, so far as in us lies, to prevent the war and to obey the Pope. The Emperor had resolved on sending before him Count Gebhard von Arnstein with an army, but we came to him and dissuaded it. Still he is despatching the Count in all haste into Tuscany, to collect troops there and meet him in Lombardy.

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There are great tokens that the Lord Emperor will not quit Lombardy either in summer or winter, until he bring the business to an honourable end. It is believed as certain that he will send thither the Empress his illustrious consort, and that he will keep her there.' Von Salza was the finest combination of the soldier, the statesman, and the Christian, that adorned the Thirteenth Century; happy had it been for all parties, if his warning voice had not been raised in vain.

The Cardinals, to whom this letter was addressed, were well known to the Emperor, and had both corresponded with him; one of them, Thomas of Capua, had proved himself equally ready to pen a hymn in praise of St. Francis or a despatch in opposition to the Imperial policy. The other, Rinaldo the Bishop of Ostia, the future Pope Alexander IV., was fat as King Eglon, and a lover of quiet. He delighted in preaching, studying theology, and consecrating Churches; he had charity for all mankind, except for wicked friars and priests who abused the confessional.* His abhorrence of war made him ready to entertain Frederick's new proposals, harsh as they seem to us. These were sent to the two Legates in July, when they were at a Castle near Piacenza. The Emperor demanded that the peace of Constance, forced on his grandfather, should be considered as null and void; that the Lombards should throw down their banners at his feet; that they should raise five hundred knights for his service in Italy; that the Milanese should pay their arrears of tribute from the day of his Coronation up to the present

* Salimbene.

time, and hand over Crema to him, on his promising never to place it in the hands of the Cremonese; that the Imperial allies should have their losses made good; and that he should have everything restored to him that his father had held. These hard conditions, if we may believe the Emperor's own statement, were agreed to by the Lombards, who must have been dismayed at the results of the late campaign. In return, they demanded from him a confirmation of the privileges of Milan, forgiveness for all their misdeeds of the past, and the right to keep their walls and gates. The question of their jurisdictions might be settled by the Princes of the Empire. Each city wished to have its own charter of pardon. But the two parties could not come to an agreement; the Lombards would have the guarantee of the Church; the Emperor insisted on his natural sons and the Princes of the Empire being the only sureties. Moreover he demanded hostages, while the other side thought an oath was enough.* In particular, Frederick wished that Piacenza should once more bring home her exiled Ghibellines, among whom the house of Andito were conspicuous, and that she should make them full compensation for their losses. The Doge of Venice overturned the whole scheme of peace. He instigated his countryman, Regnier Zeno, the Podesta of Piacenza, to refuse any terms which did not include Venice. The negotiations, which would otherwise have been completed, were therefore broken off on the 25th of July. Zeno hurried back to Piacenza, and made the burghers take an oath to banish the Ghibellines. Thus,

* See Frederick's Circular in July, 1244.

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while the country to the east of the Adige was yielding to Frederick, the towns to the west of that river were welcoming war. The Cardinals, forced to depart without attaining their object, went away muttering an ominous Latin jingle.* Peter de Vinea afterwards declared, that what with these holy men and the Lombards, he had been steering between Scylla and Charybdis.

While the balance was thus trembling between peace and war in Italy, Frederick had quitted that country for Germany in November, 1236. He kept his Christmas at Gratz, where he received the homage of the Styrian officials.† His son Conrad, who had been left at Nuremberg, was being brought by degrees before the eyes of the public; but the Emperor towards the end of this year found another child added to his family. He wrote to his faithful subjects at Palermo, whom he calls his peculiar people, that his new Empress had given birth to a daughter, the earnest, it was to be hoped, of male offspring. In another letter he appealed to the loyalty of his Sicilian subjects. They had seen their King promoted to the Roman Empire; Lombardy was in full rebellion, which the men whom Germany germinated sufficed to crush; Sicily therefore would not be called upon to furnish men, as of old in the African wars, but only money. If the persons of Frederick's Southern subjects were spared, the least they could do would be to contribute their wealth, in order to insure the future peace of the world. The taxes were collected very soon after the arrival of this letter.

* Lombardus pactum post damnum suscipit actum.— Chronicon.

† Ann. Argentin.

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Early in January, 1237, Frederick left the Styrian capital, where he had curbed the oppressive proceedings of certain laymen towards the Church. He took and laid in ruins the strong Castles in Styria, and then passed on to Vienna, which became his headquarters for three months. The Duke of Austria had been more than a match for the Imperial lieutenants, who did little but ravage the land; he wisely retired into the walls of Neustadt, the only city which remained faithful to him, on the Kaiser's arrival from Italy. The wife of the rebel, to his great disgrace, fell into the hands of his enemy. The Austrian convents, which had been heavily taxed by their Duke for the defence of the country, had reason to rejoice at Frederick's success, and hastened to procure Charters from him.* Before the end of January the Patriarch of Aquileia, who had taken a leading part in the war, the Archbishops of Mayence, Treves, and Salzburg, the Bishops of Bamberg and Ratisbon, the Dukes of Bavaria and Carinthia, the Landgrave of Thuringia, Hermann von Salza, and many other nobles, had assembled at Vienna. The King of Bohemia and the Bishops of Passau and Freisingen arrived soon afterwards. It is said that they staid at Vienna eating and drinking and doing nothing else.† One event at least marked their sojourn in the Austrian capital, the election of Frederick's second son as King of the Romans. The opening of their declaration unfolds a new view of prophetical interpretation.

'Christ, taking the sceptre from Judah and binding his colt to a vine, that is, binding the Roman Empire to the Church of his new plantation, most evidently

* Continuatio Sancrucensis. † Con. Sancrucensis.

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foretold the defence of our religion placed under the shield of the Empire. When this is shaken by storms, heresies uncut by the saw of the Empire grow up, to ruin the vine of the Lord of Sabaoth. If the prop of the vine be neglected, the vine itself is in danger. When Troy had fallen, Rome became the seat of the Empire; but so lofty a fortune could not be preserved in one single city. After long wanderings, Necessity adjudged the source of the Empire to the Princes of Germany. Since then we who stand in the place of the Roman Senate, we who are held the fathers and lights of the Empire, have to give an account to an awful Judge, we are bound to guard against the dangers of an Interregnum. Although there is no immediate peril, thanks to the strength, diligence, and toils of our most excellent Lord Frederick; yet, since the length of his life is uncertain, we have determined to choose his successor during his reign. We remember that the godlike Kaisers his forefathers not only held the throne as Lords of justice, but had a fatherly love towards each and all, like Fathers of the Empire, and never spared their persons in wars at home or abroad. Our ancestors were loth to cheat the sons out of the toils of their fathers; we therefore have resolved to honour in his offspring the present Emperor, the true successor of his predecessors. We elect his son as our future Emperor, that the father may toil on for the benefit of his child. Thus, at the Emperor's prayer, we have at Vienna with one consent elected his son Conrad as King of the Romans and as the future Emperor, and we have confirmed our election by an oath. It is true that we formerly elected Henry, the Emperor's eldest son; but since he has

proved unworthy of his place, we have chosen Conrad in the room of Henry, even as David was chosen in the room of Saul.'

Frederick's influence in the land of his fathers seemed to be as great as ever. He had no need now to resort to tricks and cajoleries, in order to gain the Papal consent to the election of his second son; that consent does not seem to have been asked in 1237. The Pope had, at this time, something more to fear than the wars in Northern Italy; it seemed likely that Rome would, in spite of all her efforts to the contrary, continue to be enclosed between the elective and hereditary realms of a Hohenstaufen master. No one then living could foresee the end of this union of Crowns, which Gregory was unable to prevent.

Matilda, the Marchioness of Hohenburg, came into Frederick's presence, and there made over certain of her rights to her two sons, Berthold and Diephold, the Emperor's squires. Von Salza was once more sent to the Pope, on Lombard affairs, at his own request. The Kaiser had, by this time, adjudged to himself the Duchies of Austria and Styria, and used his power chiefly to protect the convents. The most interesting of his edicts is one given in April in favour of Vienna, where he had so long sojourned. After reciting the loyalty of the burghers and the consequent annoyances which they had undergone from the Duke of Austria, Frederick bestowed upon them the privilege of direct dependence upon the Empire. An Imperial Judge was to be established at Vienna, who was forbidden to tax the citizens without their own consent. No Jews were allowed to hold any office, for fear of their oppressing Christians.

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The citizens were to be judged by their peers in all civil and criminal causes, except for high treason. Compurgation was preferred to the ordeal of combat, in the true spirit of Frederick's legislation. Care was taken to provide suitable teachers for children in the schools. All who lived for a year and a day in this city of refuge, without being claimed as serfs, were to be held freemen thenceforward. A Viennese might claim back his goods, if his bark was wrecked on the Danube, from any man who detained them. Frederick always had an enlightened horror of the practice of wrecking, whether in Italy or Germany.

In April the Kaiser began to move towards his faithful Alsace, which he calls in a letter the most precious part of his inheritance, and which he wished to honour above the other German provinces. His lieges to the west of the Upper Rhine were accordingly bidden to make ready provisions for his army. The Duke of Austria could not be drawn out of his fastness at Neustadt; the Kaiser, with his princes, retired from Vienna, leaving the Bishop of Bamberg and two other captains in command on the Danube. That warlike Prelate, whose courage had recommended him to his master, died in the course of the year; whereupon the rebel Duke, inspirited by Frederick's departure into Italy, gained a great battle over the loyalists, and made two Bishops his prisoners.* Thus he recovered all his lands, and afterwards made his peace with Frederick at a time when that Sovereign was sorely pressed by the worst of his enemies.

The nobles of Styria had done much to help the Kaiser, whom they now besought to grant them the

* Herm. Altahensis.

favour of holding directly from the Empire. Styria was henceforward to be separated from Austria, and an unjust custom was abolished, by which these nobles had been forced to give their sons and daughters in marriage against their will. The ordeal of combat was to be replaced by the evidence of witnesses. The right of female succession and of alienation of lands was granted. Serfs were forbidden to take refuge in the cities, and the coinage was placed on a better footing; it was to last for five years, instead of being called in every year, according to the former practice.

Frederick flattered himself with the vain thought that he had added the Duchies of Austria and Styria, which were valued at more than 60,000 silver marks, to the Roman Empire.* He kept Easter at Ratisbon, where he rewarded the Archbishop of Mayence for past services. He heard an appeal in a cause from Padua, and sent it back to Eccelin. In May he came to Ulm. Here one of the old rebel party, Walter von Limburg, took the oath of fealty to the Kaiser and to the new King of the Romans, and made reparation to the two Hohenlohe brothers for ancient injuries. The rights of the Bishop of Bamberg, then employed in Austria, were protected against his subjects, the citizens. Frederick had hoped to have held a conference in June with the Kings of France and England. Vaucouleurs, on the Meuse, had been named as the spot where the meeting was to take place. There the Emperor, on his first arrival in Germany, had been met by the father of King Louis, and had been well supplied with French gold. But King Louis himself had not yet forgiven the Impe-

* Godefr. Colon.

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rial alliance with England. He came at the head of the French chivalry, and found that the Emperor now shrank from the meeting. The King of England prepared to send his brother Richard to Vaucouleurs, in spite of the opposition of his nobles. He had previously received a flat refusal from the old Bishop of Winchester, who declined to act as the envoy of his Sovereign on account of a long-standing grudge. But Richard's journey was delayed until the next year by a letter from the Emperor, and the conference at Vaucouleurs was never again mentioned.* William of Kilkenny, who afterwards became Bishop of Ely, and whose tomb may still be seen in that Cathedral, was sent at this time on an embassy to Germany.†

In June, Frederick met some of his Princes at Spires, whither he had summoned them. He invited them to a banquet, and obtained a second recognition of the election of Conrad. ‡ Landolf, the Bishop of Worms, was among those present, and celebrated a solemn mass in Frederick's presence on Whitsunday. This Prelate, rebel though he had been, now became the most loyal of the Kaiser's subjects. He had soon proof positive that he was restored to favour. On entering the Imperial presence, he found some nuns, who were under his jurisdiction, complaining of his conduct; and these ladies found many advocates among the Courtiers. 'Lord Bishop,' said Frederick, 'hear, and make answer.' Landolf cried; 'Hear me, my Lords, Prelates and Princes; the Lord Emperor is taking the part of the nuns, that they may not serve God; and if he knew the way in which they have procured these advocates in his

* M. Paris. † Rymer. ‡ Godefr. Colon.

Court, he would not listen to them.' He then alleged the Papal orders and the state of his diocese, and spoke to such effect, that at length the whole assembly arose and besought Frederick to believe his own Prince rather than such persons as these women were. 'Go and obey your Bishop,' said the Kaiser, turning to the nuns, who left his presence weeping and making a great noise.*

The Archbishop of Cologne also procured a sentence in his own favour. A turbulent infringer of the rights of the Church was released from the Ban, after he had undertaken to follow the Kaiser into Italy. This Italian project was now engrossing all the thoughts of the haughty Germans. The knights of the Teutonic Order were foremost in standing up for the rights of the Empire against the Lombard rebels. In July, Hermann von Salza held a Chapter at Marburg, his favourite head-quarters; it was attended by almost a hundred of his brethren, scions of the noblest houses in Germany. The gallant knights with one voice protested against their Grand Master's intermeddling any further in Lombard affairs; it was all he could do to gain their consent to his return into Italy, on his alleging the commands of the Holy Father. Von Salza despaired of being able to make the Pope understand the importance attaching to this outbreak of Teutonic pride. The Princes of Germany had blamed Hermann for what he had already done; they preferred the sword to any treaty, if faithless Lombardy was to be brought back to her old allegiance.†

* Ann Wormat.

† All these facts appear from Von Salza's letter to the Cardinals, already quoted.

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The Campaign in Northern Italy was now all but begun. Frederick left Spires, after endeavouring to prevent the burghers of Strasburg from making war on the Count of Leiningen; he betook himself to Augsburg, the usual starting-point for the Italian enterprise. He bade farewell to several of the German Prelates and Princes, and marched southward, making a bargain on the way with the Bishop of Passau, who was being dunned by his Roman and Sienese creditors for the debts of his Church. Frederick, who had sent his Empress on before him, crossed the Brenner in September, and turned his back on Germany for ever. The Bishop of Worms and the Burgrave of Nuremberg were among his followers. His army was not very strong; the most interesting member of it, in our eyes, was a strapping youth of nineteen, seven feet high, with a small head, pale face, long nose, and thin hair, who ate and drank but little, and who had more wisdom than wealth.* This youth was Rodolph of Habsburg. On his being promoted to Frederick's throne, more than thirty years after this time, he profited by the experience he gained in this and other campaigns, and took good care never to meddle in the faithless politics of Italy.

Frederick reached Verona on the 10th of September. He had ordered up into the North 10,000 Arabs from Lucera, who halted at Ravenna in order to defend that city from the Lombard League. Faenza had also declared for the Emperor, and was held by Simon Count of Chieti at the head of 500 knights. Theobald Francesco, a noble in whom

* Chron. Colmar.

Frederick put great trust, was Vicar in the Trevisan March. Morra had come up from the Kingdom to meet his Lord. Gebhard brought up the Saracens, Apulians, and Tuscans, coming through Ferrara.* Frederick now marched by Mantico to Vacaldo, near Verona; his enemy the Count of San Bonifazio had encamped at Goito. The Emperor, having called Eccelin to his aid, began operations by attacking Mantua; a siege of a few days led to its surrender, which took place on the 1st of October. Rolandini says, 'I saw envoys come from Mantua; they offered their homage to the Empire and to the Crown, and Frederick received it with joyful countenance.' He gave the city a Charter on condition of its renouncing the Lombard League, promised it the restoration of the Castle of Gonzaga, and dispensed with the customary exaction of hostages. It was to supply his army with provisions, while he was warring against Brescia. The Charter was signed by Frederick's old friend the Patriarch of Antioch, who was soon in very bad odour at Rome, and by Hermann von Salza, who had preceded the Kaiser across the Alps. This was the fourth journey into Italy which this peacemaker had undertaken within the space of two years. Even now, he did not cease to besiege the Imperial ear with earnest petitions for concord.

Frederick made the Ghibelline Podestas of Cremona, Parma, and Modena swear to the peace with the Mantuans, whom he allowed to retain their old privileges, much to their delight; for their Veronese enemies had boasted that Mantua would be given

* Ric. San Germano. Chronicon.

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up to plunder. Frederick contented himself with chiding the Mantuans for shutting their gates on their Emperor, who had come to pacify Italy, not to conquer it. Such conduct must not be repeated.* Still a few months later, we find the Mantuans in disgrace for wounding and robbing a man who was bringing some falcons to Frederick. He now ordered the surrender of the Castle of San Bonifazio, which had held out for so long a time against Eccelin. The Emperor strove to reconcile the fiery spirits who surrounded him. Azzo of Este and the other old Guelfs saw with disgust the favour shown to the Ghibellines; James of Carrara, a noble of Padua, described as a wise and good man, who was the founder of a princely line, happened to quarrel with Eccelin; he tried to strike the Lord of Romano, and half drew his sword, when Frederick himself rushed between them.† Eccelin had his revenge a few years later.

The Emperor showed himself courteous to all; it was by the advice of the nobles of the Trevisan March that he had dealt so gently with Mantua, in order that he might the more easily make war on the other rebel states. He granted investiture to three nephews of James of Carrara, when that knight had taken the oath of fealty. He wrote a letter in approval of Gonfalonerio, a Brescian, who was prevented by the rival party from repairing to the Imperial standard. This man was enjoined to send to head-quarters all the news he could pick up, for the Emperor wished to find out, whether the Lombards meant to march against his own army, or to attack

* Platina. † Rolandini.

Cremona. All good Ghibellines were to take comfort from the assurance, that their long-expected deliverer was at hand, with a mightier host than any Emperor for many years past had led. He said he was well aware of the Milanese tactics; they would not meet him in battle, but would watch the fords of the countless Lombard streams. But the serpent was to be crushed in the head, not in the tail. Few to the East of the Adige cared to dispute Frederick's sway. The Bishop of Padua sent two Proctors to receive investiture on his behalf. Arnold, the fugitive Abbot of St. Justina, had appeared before the Emperor at Verona, had met with a warm welcome, and had followed the camp for two months.* But Frederick would have nothing to say to the two Cardinals, who came to Mantua in the hope of making peace; he was better pleased with an embassy from the Roman people. The Italian Ghibellines were now flocking to his camp; Reggio and Parma sent him many knights. Mantua having yielded, Frederick marched Westwards, leaving Solferino to his right, and took Brescia in hand; the city had lately strengthened her walls, but he ravaged her territories, and laid siege to Montechiari, one of her strong castles. This step he took by Eccelin's advice, as usual; Salinguerra, the Count of San Bonifazio, and the Mantuans, were now attached to his army.† The siege began on the 7th of October; two trebuchets were employed. Frederick had 7000 Saracens, (the rest were on duty in the various garrisons), 2000 Germans, 500 knights from the Trevisan March under Eccelin, and many soldiers

* Monach. Patavinus. † Chronicon.

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from Trent, Mantua, Cremona, and Modena. The Emperor's trebuchets did great damage to the walls of Montechiari, and the garrison had planned to escape by night, each man shifting for himself. Eccelin and others tried to make terms for them. Frederick summoned to his tent their chief, Conrad of Concisa. He came, with some knights; the Emperor got others of the better class into his power, and then ordered them to surrender. The Castle was burnt, after the siege had lasted nearly three weeks.* The captives, 1500 in number, were sent off to Cremona; they declared Frederick guilty of a breach of faith, as according to their account he had promised them their freedom and their property, if they would yield; but the Emperor averred that he had annexed a further condition, the surrender of Brescia.†

The Milanese now came out to the help of their Eastern allies; Piacenza, Alessandria, Vercelli, Novara, and Lodi were on the same side; it is said, that the knights alone were 6000, all on horses cased in steel.‡ Unluckily for the Lombards, their army crossed the Oglio; this movement the Emperor afterwards called a happy chance. After visiting Brescia, they took up a strong position in the marshes near Manerbio, facing Frederick, who was at Ponte Vico to the south. A muddy and impassable stream parted the two armies. The Emperor allowed Hermann von Salza and other pious men to make one more effort for peace; he in vain sent a challenge to the rebels, offering them the choice of ground. They refused to listen either to his words or to his trum-

* Chronicon. † Rolandini. ‡ M. Paris.

pets, which were blown from morning till evening. He remained for a fortnight at Ponte Vico, which he burnt. While there, he was visited by two Abbots, who had suffered much at the hands of his Pavian allies. The complainants had made their way on foot to Frederick's camp, ill-supplied with means, and after in vain waiting several days for a good opportunity, they contrived to reach the Emperor, who was on horseback. He heard their story, which they told in a few words; he merely said he was sorry for what had happened, and rode off.*

After throwing several bridges over the Oglio, he crossed it on the morning of the 24th of November at Ponte Vico, a few miles to the south of the Milanese position. He ordered the fords of the river to be strictly watched, and at the same time spread a report, that he was on his way to his winter quarters at Cremona. In fact, he dismissed the common soldiers and the Carroccios. His army was melting away by degrees; the knights and burghers, as was usually the case in a feudal host, were weary of delay and dispirited by the bad weather. Frederick, however, kept with him a chosen body of men, rather more than ten thousand in all. With these he made a sharp turn to the north-west from Ponte Vico, instead of taking the southern road to Cremona. He encamped at Soncino, about twenty miles from his old position, having the Oglio on his right flank. The Milanese, being in want of provisions, broke up from their new camp at Palazzolo, twenty miles to the north of Soncino, and crossed the Oglio on their homeward march, at a

* Ughelli, referring to the Abbey of Morimondo.

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spot nearly half way between Brescia and Milan. They had not the least idea that all the fords and bridges were watched by an unseen foe. They kept no order on the march, but hurried on quite unconscious of the coming disaster, beguiling the way with songs. At three o'clock, one of Frederick's knights rode up to them on a white horse, shouting, 'Be ready, for the Emperor is going to give you battle.' Some men of Bergamo had made a signal to Frederick, lighting a fire on the top of the Church at Cividate, through which village the Lombards must have passed. Suddenly the Emperor burst upon his enemies out of a wood, after having made one of his rapid marches from Soncino. His army, drawn up in seven divisions, appeared upon the left flank of the foe. Even before his Eagles could be brought to the front, the Milanese, throwing away their musical instruments, fled to their Carroccio, which early that morning had been conveyed with the tents to Cortenuova, a distance of one mile from the spot where they were surprised. The Emperor sounded his trumpets, and sent on first his light-armed Saracen troops, following himself with the main body. The Moslem were almost cut to pieces, yet their arrows wrought fearful havock among the Lombards; for when Frederick came up, he found the ground strewn with knights, either slain, or wounded, or being tended by their squires; while his march was hindered by numbers of riderless horses galloping about the field. The Milanese Carroccio had been stationed near the walls of Cortenuova, where the Lombards had meant to encamp for the night. It was protected by trenches, and the whole of the rebel army, cavalry and infantry, were drawn up around it. They fought

for their standard with wonderful stubbornness; it being, of course, the main point of attack. Some of the Lombards ran, but Milan and Alessandria stood to their arms manfully. The war-cry of the Ghibellines was; 'Knights, strike for Rome and the Emperor!' Some of Frederick's men, fighting under his eye, forced their way over the trenches with great bravery, and almost reached the pole of the Carroccio; they were well seconded by the men of Bergamo. Night however came on, to the great joy of all; and the warriors lay down on the field to sleep, with swords drawn, and with armour unbuckled.

Henry of Monza, the Captain of the Company of the Brave, had greatly distinguished himself in the battle. During the night, he with his own hands hewed the Carroccio in pieces, knowing that it would be impossible to save it, if the fight were to be renewed on the morrow. The Fire-kindler, being a man of enormous strength, carried off home the mast, cross, and banner. When day broke, Frederick found that the Milanese were gone, and that the garrison of Cortenuova, a strong Castle which might have made a stout resistance, had also fled; this fortress was utterly destroyed. The remains of the Carroccio were found by Frederick in the morning, left amidst a crowd of waggons; he himself says in his despatch, that he recovered the cross which had surmounted the national standard of Milan, and which the fugitives had dropped in their flight. Peter Tiepolo, the hapless Podesta, was a prisoner in the hands of the Emperor, whom he had twice thwarted. The Archbishop of Milan was nowhere to be found. Almost 10,000 of the rebels had been

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taken or slain, although the fight had been confined to the afternoon of a November day. The field of battle must have been a fearful sight indeed. Peter de Vinea writes, 'Who can describe the heaps of corpses and the number of captives? God, a just Judge, had at last regard to the rights of the Empire, and overthrew the pride of the Lombards; they lost their Carroccio and their Podesta; each of our men slew as many as he would, and took as many as he would. At length, leaving their arms, tents, and waggons, the enemy fled; and the greater part of them were drowned in the rivers. Cæsar himself smote all foes with his own hand; the Germans dyed their swords in blood; the happy knights of the Kingdom fought wonderfully by the side of their Prince; the warriors of Pavia avenged themselves thoroughly on the Milanese; the loyal Cremonese with the other states satiated their axes with blood; the Saracens emptied their quivers. Never in any war were so many corpses piled up; had not night come on suddenly, none of the enemy would have fled from Cæsar's hands; it was wonderful how many of our men escaped death.'

Such was the field of Cortenuova, fought on the 27th of November. It was one of the great battles of the Middle Ages; the Austerlitz of Frederick, which ought to have given him the whole of Italy, had he been as skilful in reaping results as in planning campaigns. All the generalship was on one side. Frederick was one of those commanders who win the day rather by the exercise of their own brains than by the lavish outpouring of their soldiers' blood. Galvano Fiamma, who gives us the Milanese view of the case, evidently

thinks that his countrymen were swindled out of the victory; he cannot appreciate the Imperial strategy; his voice is all for a clear stage and no favour. He thus addresses the Conqueror; 'You lay hid like a robber in a cave; you never gave us warning; you set upon us when we were unarmed. Think that you could not overcome one band! Though you did take our Carroccio, left stuck in the mud, you have no cause to boast! Ah, wait the event of future years!' The angry annalist is unaware of the fact that Frederick only showed his powers of generalship, in forcing the enemy to fight at a disadvantage to themselves. The Milanese had, indeed, met with a fearful disaster; one half of their army was either killed or taken, and thousands of horses, oxen, waggons, and tents were left in the Emperor's hands. A new mishap befell the scattered remnant, as it was straggling home; the men of Bergamo treacherously seized and imprisoned as many of the survivors as they could catch, although they had given the Milanese a free passage through their territory, when Brescia was to be succoured. The fugitives, however, found a good friend in Pagano Della Torre, a noble Guelf, who was liberal with money and medicine, and who lent large sums to the beggared treasury of Milan. He thus laid the foundation of the future power of his house in that city.*

In the mean time, Frederick led his victorious host, with the thousands of prisoners taken in the late battle, to Cremona. He made a triumphal

* M. Paris; G. Fiamma; Ann. Mediolan; Chronicon, which is very full of details of the battle; also Frederick's letters.

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entry into that faithful city, the stronghold of the Northern Ghibellines. According to a Lombard tradition, he said; 'Our gossips of Cremona have all the crown of this battle.'* The Carroccio of Milan, repaired as well as possible, and set upon its severed wheels and planks, figured in the procession. On the next day, the Emperor's elephant was brought out, which had been kept at Cremona for the last three years, and which had drawn throngs of eager sight-seers from every part of Lombardy to gaze upon one of the wonders of the age, recalling the days of the Maccabees. It bore on its back a square tower, with a great banner in the centre and a flag at each corner; here its Saracen keepers sat.† The monster was led through Cremona amid the shouts of the people, drawing the Milanese Carroccio, upon which the captive Podesta had been bound. This was an imitation of the old Roman triumphs; the Carroccio was afterwards sent to the Eternal City as a trophy, and the brave Tiepolo was in the end doomed by the modern Cæsar to the fate of Vercingetorix; a cruel act, which is abhorrent to all our notions of chivalry. Indeed, this despiteful treatment of the prisoner was a blunder, which brought its own punishment by throwing Venice, the country of Tiepolo, into the arms of the Lombard League.

If we were to believe the historians of Milan, the burghers of that city very soon recovered from the blow of Cortenuova. They sent word to Frederick, so runs the legend, that they would not act as he had done, but would attack him openly. Within a fortnight they would beat up his quarters, and would root up

* Imago Mundi. † Salimbene.

the oak which grew before the gate of Cremona. This defiance, it is added, was carried out; and shame, as the Milanese believed, drove the Emperor to Lodi.* The story is evidently a plaster for wounded vanity. The real fact is, that the Milanese were in a state of utter hopelessness; they sent Brother Leo, a famous Franciscan friar, who very soon afterwards became their Archbishop, to entreat for peace. Frederick would not grant it, until they should withdraw from the lands of the Empire. Five hundred Milanese horsemen, who had been sent to garrison Lodi, were accordingly withdrawn from that town. The Emperor, on the 12th of December, rode to Pizzighitone and set free some of his Lodese prisoners, who instantly brought over their state to his side. He entered it that same day, after its Milanese Podesta, Otho Visconti, had been driven out.

Brother Leo came once more from Milan, with the news that the citizens were ready to yield up to Frederick all his Imperial rights, and to pay a large sum of money, if he would only grant them terms. They were now willing to do what they had refused a few months before; they would give hostages, and would receive within their walls a Captain who was to represent the Emperor in all his power. So low was this haughty State fallen, which in the beginning of the year had been hammering all Italy, to use the language of the time. Frederick, after taking counsel with the Cremonese and Pavians, demanded unconditional surrender. In the mean time the Bishop of Piacenza was sent to make terms for his State with the Emperor, since a Dominican friar had brought

* Gal. Fiamma. Ann Mediolanen.

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the news, that the Milanese were treating without the knowledge of their allies. The envoys of Piacenza were not admitted into Frederick's presence at Lodi; they could only see Peter de Vinea. Now came tidings from Milan, that peace was out of the question; Piacenza instantly recalled her envoys, who set off in a hurry without partaking of a meal they had ordered.* Milan was in despair; the crucifixes were hung up by the heels; all Friday and Lent fasting was at an end; the Churches and altars were polluted with filth; and the clergy were driven out.† One ray of good fortune came to cheer the city; 1200 men, who had been missing ever since the battle of Cortenuova, marched home, having made a long circuit by Lake Como. Frederick at this time threw a bridge over the Lambro, a stream which he had good cause to remember. The men of Piacenza, fearing his approach, burnt Borgo Nuovo.‡ He sent Eccelin to Padua and Azzo to Este.§ He had already forwarded from Cremona a full account of the battle of Cortenuova to Richard Earl of Cornwall, with whom he chose to correspond rather than with the weak King Henry. He sent similar letters to the Archbishop of York, the Duke of Lorraine, and the Pope. He kept Christmas at Lodi with great rejoicings. Thus ended the year 1237, one of the most glorious in Frederick's life. It was probably not the less welcome to him, for removing his father-in-law, John de Brienne, after the aged chief had in vain done all that man could do to revive that unnatural system, the Latin Empire of the East. John had spent

* Chronicon. See Frederick's Circular of July, 1244.
† M. Paris. ‡ Chron. Placentinum. § Rolandini.

the last thirty years of his long life in fruitless enterprises in Palestine, Egypt, Apulia, and Roumelia, all for the good of the Church. Frederick had sent a most decorous letter to Von Salza on hearing the sad news; in it he declared that he had meant to provide for the old Crusader, and he wished that the two sons, whom John had left, should be entrusted to his own Imperial protection.

The year 1238 seemed to open with the brightest prospects for Frederick. The fame of Cortenuova was published abroad throughout all Christendom; nobles, prelates, and knights from far distant lands were all eager to learn the art of war under so skilful a Captain. A great effort was to be made in the summer of this year. Morra was sent into Apulia, where he arrived in time to enforce the usual January collection of taxes. Von Salza was despatched into Germany for men, not for money. If other countries were stirred in an unwonted manner at the news of the great battle, much more was Italy dismayed. Almost every one of her states waited upon Frederick with tribute; the Lombard League seemed to have been shivered to pieces by the late thunderbolt. Five cities alone showed the least spirit of resistance; these five were Bologna, Brescia, Piacenza, Milan, and Alessandria.*

Ever since the middle of 1235, the time of Frederick's arrival in Germany to suppress his son's rebellion, the Emperor's star had been rising higher and higher. He had held a renowned Diet, had seen kings assemble to do him honour, had wedded a beautiful Empress well worthy to be his mate, had

* I do not include the tributary states, such as Crema and Como.

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been blessed with new offspring, had smitten Austria to the North and Lombardy to the South of the Alps, had won a bloody pitched field, and was now about to lead the forces of the world in arms, to put the finishing stroke, as it seemed, to his work. Rome was awed into silence; the Northern nobles, who had been the old supporters of Rome, had taken shelter under the wing of the Hohenstaufen Eagle. Just in the same way Napoleon enjoyed rather more than three years of wonderful, almost superhuman prosperity, from the time of his lucky escape out of the Isle of Lobau up to the day of his entry into Moscow. Those three years were almost identical, in their leading events, with the three happy years granted to Frederick the Second, beginning from 1235. Then comes the change, in both instances brought about by an overweening ambition never content, that grasps at everything, that has no respect for the rights of others, that turns the brain of its victim, persuading him that the world is at his feet. What change in the fortunes of the Mediæval Emperor was wrought by the year 1238, will soon be made clear.

On the 5th of January, Frederick, who was still at Lodi, gave a passport for Germany to Gerard von Sinzig and his train. This gallant knight became afterwards the main prop of the Hohenstaufen cause in his own district, not far from the foot of the Drachenfels; we may readily believe that he was one of the foremost men at Cortenuova. The day after granting this passport, the Emperor rode into Pavia, a city second only to Cremona in loyalty. Here he held his court for some time, which was attended by many Suabian nobles; none of them surpassed the young Habsburg brethren, Albert and

Rodolph, in knightly feats.* Vegevalle surrendered, and the Milanese in dismay burnt their bridge over the Ticino. Vercelli and Novara, allies of Milan in the late battle, sent hostages to Frederick, who granted to the former city a charter of unconditional pardon. Avignon, on the other side of the Alps, was equally loyal, and elected the Emperor as her Podesta. Now it was that he despatched the Carroccio of Milan to the chief city of his Empire. He sent at the same time a letter to the Romans, reminding them of the battle-cry raised at Cortenuova, and suggesting to the Quirites that death would be a fit punishment for any rebel who might attempt to burn the trophy. It was dragged by mules to Pontremoli, accompanied by many banners and trumpets. Gregory took the hint which his too powerful friend wished to give him; the Pope did his best to prevent the trophy being brought into Rome; it is said that he was sorrowful even unto death; this did not withhold the Ghibelline faction from welcoming it with all due honours; it was afterwards placed in the Capitol by the Cardinals.† Frederick had added to his gift a copy of Latin verses, complimentary to Rome, but boding no good to Milan.‡

Early in February, the Emperor was at Vercelli,

* Joh. Victoriensis. † Chronicon.

‡ The verses ran thus:—

'Ave, decus Orbis! victus tibi destinor, ave,
Currus ab Augusto Friderico Cæsare justo.
Væ, Mediolanum! jam sentis spernere vanum
Imperii vires, proprias tibi tollere vires!
Ergo triumphorum potes, Urbs, memor esse priorum,
Quos tibi mittebant reges qui bella gerebant.'

A scholar, like Frederick, should have sent to Rome better verses than these.

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whence he rode at the head of his knights into the Canavese district: he gave audience to the Count of Savoy, to Obizzo Marquess of Malaspina, and to other nobles. All castles and towns in those parts were given up to him, and in each he placed his own Podesta. He would not enter Asti.* On the 18th of February, an event occurred which alone was wanting to complete his satisfaction. His Empress Isabella had already borne him a daughter, about fourteen months before this time. She now, at Ravenna, gave birth to a son, who was called Henry, although his ill-fated half-brother of the same name was still alive in a Calabrian fortress. The happy father thus wrote to the Earl of Cornwall, dating his letter from Turin, on the 3rd of March; 'We cannot delay the news of a joyful event. By the providence of the Supreme King, a son has been born to us, and a new nephew has been given to you. This happy circumstance takes place in the midst of our successes in Italy, which is now yielding to our sway. Since the child has been born in the midst of our victories, we trust that God has increased the old renown of the Empire, which is now once more arising after its decay, and we wish you to share in our joy.' Frederick wrote in the like strain to the burghers of Palermo and to Eccelin, reminding the latter, who put faith in astrology, that the child had been conceived under a lucky star.

Not long afterwards, the Emperor had to mourn the loss of his old friend Sultan Kamel of Egypt, over whose death he shed many tears. The Mohammedan, it was said, had promised his Western brother to re-

* Chronicon.

ceive baptism; he was certainly famed in Europe for his truthfulness, his charity, and his mercy to his enemies. He was also mourned by the sick Christians whom he had aided with large sums of money, and by the prisoners whom he had set free. An English noble of high renown joined Frederick this year, the far-famed Simon de Montfort. He came to ask the Imperial interest for a Papal decree in favour of his marriage. His bride, the sister of the Empress, had devoted herself to Heaven before wedding him. Pope Gregory, however, after receiving letters from Frederick and much money from Simon, legalized the marriage, authorizing a special decree in favour of the future Earl of Leicester. This dispensation caused great scandal in England, and the stern Dominicans raised their voices against the sentence, declaring that the Pope had been tricked. Frederick's old acquaintance in Palestine, the Poitevin Bishop of Winchester, died this year at his manor of Farnham.*

The Emperor went on to Cuneo, and remained in Piedmont through the whole of March, bestowing his favours upon many convents. Savona and Albenga, both on the Riviera, gave themselves up to him, and were placed at the orders of the Marquess of Lancia. This could not have been very gratifying to the Genoese, to whom Frederick sent two ambassadors. One of these was Diotisalvi Botta, a Judge of Pavia, famed for his uprightness, wisdom, and loyalty, who thirty years after this time guided Frederick's ill-starred grandson across the country between Verona and Savona.† The envoys were instructed to de-

* M. Paris. † Chronicon.

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mand an oath of fealty from Genoa; it was debated in full council, and an answer was given that ambassadors should be despatched, with a message suitable both to the dignity of the Lord Emperor and to the welfare of the state of Genoa. Frederick then sent a letter to the Genoese, in which he imputed their past disloyalty to the frailty of human nature, common to all the children of Adam. He bade them equip a fleet for his service with all speed. After the Emperor's demand of a fresh oath, Fulco Guercio, who stood at the head of the Genoese Guelfs, advised that the business should not be decided by the Council alone, but that it should be laid before the whole commonwealth. A great Parliament was accordingly held in the old Cathedral of San Lorenzo, and the Emperor's letters were read. The Podesta accused Frederick of oppression in Sicily, aroused the jealousy of the people, and caused the assembly to disperse without granting what was sought.* A few months later, Genoa was placed under the ban of the Empire, and all loyal subjects were forbidden to supply it with provisions.

In the mean time Frederick was steadily carrying on his preparations for the conquest of the Five rebellious cities. The whole of Christendom was to have a share in the glorious work. Surely it was the common interest of all Sovereigns to quell the spirit, which had reigned at Milan for at least three generations. Frederick's letter to the King of Hungary runs thus; 'Kings ought to help one another. We have chastised the Milanese with a rod of iron; had

* Barth. Scriba, Ann. Genuen. This event must have taken place rather later in the year.

we not appeared, the bad example of rebellion must have spread into far countries. We have proclaimed a Diet, which is to be held at Verona on the 1st of May, to which we have summoned our son Conrad with a great body of men from Germany, and all our Princes, to crush the rebellion for ever. To the end that the might of Kings may come to the help of the Imperial host, we earnestly beg you to send to us in Italy a number of knights armed with cross-bows. You yourself should lead them, as becomes your Royal honour. We will in future be debtor to you, our connection and friend.'

Frederick sent another letter to the Archbishop of Mayence, advising that an end should be made of all strife in Germany, with a view to the summer Campaign in Italy. The Count of Provence was not quite so zealous in the cause as could be wished. The Emperor's letter to him ran as follows; 'We have received with joy your letters and messengers, and we have heard of your devotion to the Empire. You say that our messenger came to you very late; we wonder at it, as we sent him on a special errand; but we think your loving letter will shine all the brighter. Your own messenger said that you had many causes of disquiet already; we cannot believe that a man of such activity and loyalty, whom we specially invite, and who ought, as being our connection, to be a pattern to others, needs directions as to the exact number of soldiers he ought to bring. The business of Lombardy will in this summer be brought to an end by us once for all; come hither, forgetting all your burdens! We cannot fix on the precise number of soldiers you are to bring. Peter, the Count of Savoy, your brother-in-law, our beloved and

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loyal servant, came to us from Piedmont, prompted by his own zeal. He has promised to appear with a noble attendance. The Marquess of Montferrat was also present, and did all he could to help us. We are asking aid of the whole world, and we hope to have a countless number of men in arms. We trust that you will distinguish yourself. We wish the term of your appearance to be put off, so that you come on the 1st of June, not on the 1st of May. Your messenger will tell you what he has seen of our good success.'

On the 3rd of April, Frederick returned to Pavia, after a triumphant progress of three months through Piedmont, which he had never before made his residence except for a flying visit in 1212. He had, while at Turin in April, received the greetings of his Transalpine subjects, the Prelates of Vienne, Embrun, Gap, and Grenoble. After giving two Charters to the Count of Biandrate, he held a great Council at Cremona, bidding the townsmen make ready for an enterprise and furnish themselves with provisions for four months. On the 13th of May he turned his steps Eastward, wishing to make peace between Eccelin on the one hand and Azzo on the other. These nobles had taken up arms against each other, as soon as they were out of their Lord's sight, although at this time they both professed Ghibelline principles.* On the 12th of May, a noble lady, whose name was Selvaggia, a natural daughter of the Emperor, came with a great number of attendants to the Church of the Valley of Cereta, where she was lodged at the cost of the town. On the 22nd of the

* Chronicon.

month she reached Verona, and was given by her father to Eccelin on Whitsunday. This wedding took place before the gate of St. Zeno's Abbey, where Frederick was lodging. Eccelin brought home his bride with the greatest rejoicings to the house of Count Boniface of Panico. On the same day Frederick held a Court in the Campus Martius of Verona, and gave a noble banquet in honour of his daughter's wedding.* One day, as he was riding out with Eccelin, a dispute arose between them, as to which of them had the best sword. Frederick drew his, which was fit for an Emperor, the hilt being studded with precious stones. His new son-in-law remarked; 'My Lord, your sword is excellent, but so also is my unadorned blade.' He drew it, and at the signal 600 of his comrades drew their swords in a moment. 'Such a sword is indeed the best,' said the Emperor.†

Frederick's other partizans were not idle. Theobald Francesco was Vicar in the Trevisan March, and an Apulian, Henry of Eboli, was named Podesta of Vicenza.‡ Further to the South, Paul Traversaro, at this time a zealous Ghibelline, was leading on the men of Ravenna against the Bolognese, and was striving to wrest Faenza from them.§ A great part of this town was burnt down in the struggle, and more than 2000 prisoners from Ravenna, Forli, and Forlimpopoli broke their bonds and fled. Gebhard von Arnstein was the Emperor's Vicar in Tuscany, where he ousted Mandello, the Guelf Podesta of Florence, from that office.‖ The Bishop of the city, a staunch ally of Frederick, brought many

* Chron. Veronense. † Story quoted by Von Raumer.
‡ Antonio Godi. § Ann. Cæsenat. ‖ Chronicon.

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charges of heresy against Mandello, but the Pope would not allow a man of such good political principles to be harassed on account of religious errors. The Emperor afterwards charged Gregory with abetting heresy, and instanced the case of Mandello.* Roman citizens were taking the oath of fealty to the Emperor, with a proviso against his ever attacking their city. Peter Frangipane was forward as usual on Frederick's side. The Marquess of Lancia commanded in Piedmont, and ravaged the lands of Alessandria in May for nearly three weeks; Frederick wrote a letter of thanks to the Pavians for their services on this occasion. On the other side, the Milanese made an assault upon Bergamo, but were checked by a fearful storm, and many of them were drowned in the Adda.† They had in vain begged for peace once more; they had acknowledged Frederick to be their true and natural Lord; they had promised him all the gold and silver they had, and had professed their readiness to burn all their banners at his feet, in token of their obedience. They had, moreover, offered him 10,000 soldiers, whenever he should embark in the Crusade, on condition that he would forego his revenge and maintain the good estate of the city. The Emperor haughtily refused these terms, still demanding unconditional surrender. The Milanese, one and all, resolved to go on with the war. 'We fear your cruelty,' said they, 'which we know by experience; we had rather die under our shields by sword, spear, or dart, than by treachery, starvation, and fire!' They worked hard at their trenches, and sought out

* Frederick's letters for 1239. † Chronicon.

alliances, knowing that this was a matter of life and death. Frederick henceforth began to lose ground in public opinion; he was called a tyrant, and it was thought that God would resist him and give grace to the Milanese.* He should have taken warning by the fate of his grandfather, Frederick the First, who actually destroyed Milan, but who in the end had reason to rue the day when he drove the Lombards to despair by his overbearing harshness. Frederick the Second had, as he thought, by his success wiped out the defeat that had long been a blot on the Hohenstaufen escutcheon; Cortenuova had fully atoned for Lignano; it only remained to tear up the Treaty of Constance, and to make Lombardy like any other province of the Empire.

At this time he put forth another of his laws against heretics, and paid court to Venice by edicts in favour of her Monasteries. The summer Campaign was now about to open with the fairest prospects of success. The boy Conrad crossed the Alps at the head of a German host, and reached Verona by the end of June. With him came the Archbishops of Mayence and Magdeburg, the Bishops of Passau and Meissen, and the Count of Tyrol. The Prelates of Arles and Marseilles arrived about the same time. The German Princes seemed eager to revive the days of Barbarossa. It was true that they had allowed their Kaiser to cross the Alps with a very scanty following, both in 1236 and in 1237; but since that time the state of affairs had changed. He had cleared the way for them, and had won a great battle without their help; all they had now to do was to share in the booty

* M. Paris.

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that must be forthcoming. They might look forward with glee to a glorious sack. Milan must be far richer now, than when Barbarossa laid his hand upon her. What could be more honourable, or at the same time more expedient, than for the men of the North to rejoin their Kaiser at this moment? The wealth of Milan was almost in their grasp: the schools of Bologna must be purged of the preachers of sedition; and Alessandria, the very name of which was a standing reproach to Germany, must be blotted out, unless she forestalled her doom by a timely submission.

Frederick assembled his army in the plain of San Daniele near Verona; on the 28th of June he marched off towards Goito.* He must have chafed over the time wasted since spring had set in; not very much of the year was left for the Campaign, and it was hardly reasonable to expect such another piece of good luck as had befallen him on the eve of Cortenuova. He led his host to Cremona, where a great Council of war was held. The question was, at which of the Five rebellious cities the first blow should be aimed. Many and different were the opinions; at length Eccelin advised an attack on Brescia, the city nearest to his own district, and therefore the most desirable conquest for himself. 'God's Providence,' said he, 'orders all men to obey the Roman Empire. Milan and Brescia are alone holding out; strike the snake on the head; they will come to your footstool. I advise you to begin with Brescia first, and thus you will have peace. I will fight my best for you, I who have placed the

* Chronicon. Chron. Veronense.

hope of my life under the shield of your dominion.' This advice was approved, and Frederick marched back to the siege of Brescia on the third of August, followed by the Cremonese with their Carroccio.* He pitched his camp to the west of the city, between it and the river Mella. Several of the neighbouring Castles were given up to him, among which were some not far from Cortenuova, his late battle-field. Guala, the Bishop of Brescia, made over his fortresses to the Emperor, who had appeared at the head of an overwhelming host, drawn from many nations. Bergamo was zealous against her neighbour. Gebhard von Arnstein had brought up the Saracens, Apulians, and Tuscans.† Florence had sent both Guelfs and Ghibellines to the siege. Siena had furnished twenty-five knights, five of whom fell in the course of the campaign.‡ Reggio equipped 200 knights and 1000 infantry.§ Rome, Romagna, Lombardy, and the Trevisan March were all represented in Frederick's host. The Germans mustered strong under the Patriarch of Aquileia, the Archbishops of Mayence, Cologne, and Magdeburg, the Bishops of Passau, Meissen, Worms, and Wurzburg, and the Duke of Carinthia. The Count of Provence waited upon his liege Lord with a hundred knights. The Sultan, and Vataces the Schismatical Emperor on the Bosphorus, had each sent succour to their Western brother. Knights from France and Spain had come to learn the art of war from its best living master.‖ We may be pardoned for dwelling at greater length upon one little band in the mighty array. Henry the Third of Eng-

* Malvecius. † Chronicon. ‡ Gio. Villani. Chron. Sanese. § Mem. Pot. Reginensium. ‖ Chronicon.

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land, directly after Easter, had despatched a hundred knights, well armed and well mounted, to the aid of his brother-in-law, together with a large sum of money. The band was led by Henry de Trubleville, a soldier of great skill, who had been in the King's service for at least seventeen years, and who had been endowed with lands for his support during the Royal pleasure. He had paid money into the treasury for the coveted privilege of being entrusted with the wardship and marriage of various young heirs.* This knight was chosen to lead the English contingent; whilst Mansell a Clerk, and Hardell a Londoner, were charged with the needful supply of money; the Clerk is said to have highly distinguished himself in the Italian Campaign. De Trubleville on one occasion, fighting under the Royal Standard of England, drove back the Brescians in a manner so much to Frederick's satisfaction, that the Emperor, in a letter of thanks to the knight's master, attributed the victory and his own safety to the islanders. The King wrote to the Pope on Frederick's behalf, at which his Holiness was very wroth, and suspended all business connected with England for a long time.† Italy has not greatly benefited by English interference, from the time of De Trubleville and Hawkwood down to that of Lord William Bentinck and warriors of still later date.

Such was the composition of the host that had been gathered by the Roman Emperor from all parts for the Leaguer of Brescia. The odds were fearful; but the city threatened was no common city. From time immemorial, Brescia has been renowned through-

* Excerpta e Rotulis Finium. Roberts. † M. Paris.

out Italy for its many disasters and for the courage of its citizens. Arnold, the great Italian reformer, was a Brescian born. The townsmen boasted that the mighty Barbarossa had been their captive for a short time, after his defeat at Lignano. They still talked with pride of the feats of one Conrad of Palazzo, whose fame had been widely spread even in far countries, and who had borne the Standard of the Emperor Henry the Sixth to the conquest of Apulia and Sicily.* Another Brescian, Biemino of Manerba, so it was said, had stood forth on Frederick's behalf, his chosen champion clad in the Royal arms, twenty-six years before this siege, and had challenged the Emperor Otho to a combat. This took place near Basle, so ran the legend; and the result was said to have been the defeat of Otho, who thereupon made over to Frederick his claims to the Empire, and withdrew into Saxony. Such was the Brescian explanation of the great event of 1212.† The city was now a bulwark of the Lombard League, and its glory never shone out brighter than in 1238. Coming down to more modern times, we find it undergoing the horrors of a sack by the French early in the Sixteenth century, when young Gaston de Foix led the assault, and Bayard was left wounded in the breach. It suffered under the rough hand of Napoleon, and bore its share in the turmoil of 1848. In the next year, it was the only city in Lombardy that dared to rise in the rear of the Austrians; it was afterwards cruelly punished by Haynau, traces

* Malvecius.—This Emperor gave the burghers a Charter, in which he says; 'Brixia strenuitate militiæ et armis commendata.'

† Ottavio Rossi.

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of whose handwriting might long be read on its battered convents and palaces.

This was the stronghold against which Frederick the Second had led the combined forces of Italy, of Germany, and of many other lands. His vast treasures were conveyed by a host of mules, camels, and dromedaries.* The siege began on the 3rd of August, probably three months too late. The camp, pitched between Brescia and the Mella, must have presented a strange mixture of different nations, religions, tongues, and costumes. The Imperial banners were hung out from the castle on the back of the Elephant.† The men of the turban, whom Frederick had settled at Lucera, and whose arrows had proved so deadly to the Lombards at Cortenuova, were proud to follow one whom they admired as a Solomon in council and a Roostum in fight. The Germans, not less than the Hassans and Mustaphas, were loud in praise of their great Hohenstaufen Kaiser, who had raised the renown of the Fatherland to a higher pitch than ever. The Italian Ghibellines of the North, now headed by Uberto Pallavicino, could never do enough for their Imperial countryman who had so fearfully avenged them on their Guelf enemies, and who had won their hearts by his courtesy and national sympathies. The feudal Chivalry of the Kingdom served under a Sovereign not inferior to his Norman forefathers, Roger the Great Count and Roger the first King of Sicily. These troops had been led into Lombardy by Acerra and Morra, Frederick's trusty officials; the Apulian nobles were highly honoured by their King, being made Podestas over the towns that

* Chronicon. † Ottavio Rossi.

had yielded to the awe inspired by his name. The Kingdom of Sicily had also furnished him with a large supply of the sinews of war, the produce of the January taxes. About the time when the siege began, many of Frederick's best friends left his side for a time. The Archbishop of Palermo, the Bishop of Reggio, Thaddeus of Sessa, and Roger Porcastrella the Lombard were sent to Rome, in order to keep the Pope quiet. The Archbishop of Messina came back with Gregory's answer. Hermann von Salza, after having in vain done his utmost in the cause of peace, had returned from Germany in bad health, and bidding farewell to his Kaiser for the last time, he now undertook a journey to Salerno, in the hope of prolonging the short span of life that remained to him. The Empress Isabella arrived in the Kingdom in September, and by her husband's orders made Andria on the Eastern coast her residence. Three months later, finding that after all he could not leave Lombardy, Frederick had her once more brought back into the North by the Archbishop of Palermo.*

When before Brescia, the Emperor was much taken up with the affairs of the Kingdom of Arles. He invested the Archbishop of that See by means of the Imperial Sceptre, on receiving from him the oath of fealty. The Bishops of Avignon, St. Paul-Trois-Chateaux, and Die, obtained confirmations of their privileges. The last-named Prelate was ordered to maintain just weights and measures in his city, which was in a state of great disorder. A large sum was exacted from the burghers, in order to pay the troops which their Bishop had led against Brescia. Never

* Ric. San Germano.

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after this year do we find the Provençals serving under the banner of the Empire. Frederick was equally attentive to affairs in the East of Italy. He put an end to a dispute that had been raging between his loyal friend the Patriarch of Aquileia, and certain feudatories in Friuli and Istria.

The siege had now fairly begun. As if to make the odds against them even greater, the Brescians had not fortified their trenches with palisades, when Frederick came before their city. But he found walls of stone and hearts of iron awaiting him. The townsmen were ready for the worst; their Archimedes came to them from an unexpected quarter. Eccelin was sending into his master's camp a Spanish engineer named Calamandrino, who was reckoned especially skilful in handling trebuchets and bricolets. This man was however taken by the Guelfs and sent into Brescia. On being questioned by the chiefs, who were conducting the defence, he did not deny his errand; he owned that he had come to construct machines for the Emperor. He was given his choice between instant death or the post of head-engineer to the Brescians. He chose the latter alternative, and received a wife and a house, on promising to do his best for the besieged. About 100 knights of the city took the Ghibelline side, and joined Frederick; their houses and towers were pulled down by their angry countrymen. The month of August passed away, and Brescia was still holding out. All hope of succour from her allies was at an end. Lancia, aided by the Bishop elect of Valence, the companion of De Trubleville, and also by the Seneschal of Dauphiny, routed the men of Piacenza, who had made an inroad into the

Cremonese country. In September, Frederick had recourse to a cruel device, sanctioned indeed by the custom of war in that age, and by a precedent set by his grandfather at the siege of Crema. Taking the advice of Eccelin, he sent for the Brescian captives seized at Montechiari in the previous year. Conrad of Concisa, and the others, their hands having been first tied behind their backs, were fastened upon the wooden castles of the besiegers. It was hoped that this expedient would abate the showers of arrows, stones, and torches, which were being hurled from the walls. The prisoners were promised life and honour, if they would only cause the city gates to be opened; but they harangued their countrymen as follows: 'Brescians! think what shame will accrue to you, if your city be conquered! Defend your freedom and honour, and the League you have sworn, as long as you can! Do not yield! Prefer your country's honour to your own safety!' Ardizzone Losco, who had held the castle of Carpe when Montechiari was taken, saw his own son bound on one of the besieger's castles. Undismayed by the sight, he ordered an attack upon it with arrows and torches, he himself, setting the example. Happily the rain came on and put an end to the unnatural strife. Frederick was very wroth with his dauntless prisoners, and uttered many threats against them; their national annalist extols their constancy as surpassing that of Manlius or Scœvola. So great was the skill of Calamandrino, so nice was his aim in hurling a stone from his engines, that he could pick out and hit one out of three captives bound on the same wooden castle. The Brescians revenged themselves on the Emperor, by letting down his partizans from the top of the walls, in places

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where the wretches must be hit by his missiles; they were bound on crosses, so that they could not stir in self-defence.

The townsmen had recourse to a system of constant sallies, which caused great loss to the besiegers; pitched battles were carefully shunned. Towers and bulwarks were built all round the walls, constructed of huge beams. Mangonels and trebuchets were also made, one of which knocked over the Emperor's tent. The Brescians again assailed without pity the enemy's castles, on which their countrymen were tied; very few of these victims escaped. Still, in the month of September, the town seemed ready to surrender; the greater part of the citizens were getting weary of the war, and welcomed Frederick's envoy, who came with terms of peace. This man was a Parmesan, whose name was Bernard Orlando Rosso, a gossip of the Emperor. The traitor was more than once able to ruin the fortunes of his superior, and to turn the tide of war against him. On this occasion, he advised the Brescians to hold out, saying that Frederick could not afford to remain any longer before their walls. 'I bring you,' said the treacherous envoy, 'the proposals of one who wishes you ill.' He gained his object and went back to his employer, declaring that the Brescians were obstinate, and that he had been unable to do anything.

At the end of September, a fearful storm, accompanied by violent blasts of wind, overthrew great part of the ramparts of the city. As soon as there was a lull, the Ghibellines made a rush at the walls, but were beaten off by the heroic Brescians, who flew to the spots now left undefended by turrets. On the

7th of October, the men of Bergamo endeavoured to fill up the trench before the city, twenty-three yards in width, sheltering themselves behind a machine called a Hog. This however was set on fire by the Brescians. Two days afterwards, the besiegers were making merry in their camp; no one suspected that a sally would be made from the town; the Germans were overcome with wine and sleep. At midnight, the Brescians broke into the tents of the enemy, where they remained up to day-break, wounding and slaughtering numbers of the Imperialists; they narrowly missed taking captive Frederick himself.* A few of his soldiers bore the brunt of the onset, blowing trumpets to stir up their sluggish allies. The retreat of the Brescians was cut off, as it seemed, by the host that flocked to the rescue when day dawned; but the daring assailants contrived to fight their way back into the city. After this, it was hopeless to linger any longer before the walls. Frederick turned loose the horses and oxen which had become of small value; he burnt his tents and machines, and retreated from Brescia, after having wasted two months and six days before that stubborn city.† This was the break-water which at length beat back the tide of his overwhelming force; henceforward, all idea of his invincibility was at an end; the Guelfs recovered their drooping spirits; the Milanese forthwith began an attack upon Pavia, which they forced to unite with them, and they afterwards made forays on the lands of Bergamo ‡;

* This was probably the occasion when the English so distinguished themselves.

† For the siege of Brescia see the Chronicon, Malvecius, and Ottavio Rossi.

‡ Gal. Fiamma.

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they had now something which they could set against their late disaster at Cortenuova. The Pope would soon be ready to stand openly at the head of their party. The author of Gregory's life gives all honour to Brescia, 'which was not moved by the rage of the Germans, or the cunning of the Apulians, or the throng of Lombards from different parts.'

Frederick dismissed his army, being only anxious to keep the Germans; he marched by way of Soncino to Cremona. At this time he knighted his gallant son Enzio, who thenceforward became his right-hand. A brilliant career of little more than ten years was now opening for this ill-fated youth. Enzio was sent into Sardinia with a body of knights, there to marry Adelasia, the heiress of that Kingdom.* Her former husband, Ubaldo, the Judge of Gallura, had done homage to Rome, acknowledging that he held his rights, and those of his wife, from the Apostolic See.† Enzio was not likely to be so compliant. The Pope had earlier in the year forbidden the lady to remarry without his special license; it was most important, he said, that Sardinia should not fall into the power of any one who was not devoted to the Church; and Adelasia's new husband scarcely answered this requirement. The Emperor afterwards alleged that one of the chief causes of the enmity borne to him by Rome was his refusal to accept the hand of the Pope's niece for Enzio.‡ The Romish annalist is wroth at the bare notion of a daughter of the House of Conti stooping to marry a bastard, even though that bastard were the son of an Emperor.§

* Chronicon.
† Raynaldus.
‡ Letters for 1239.
§ Vita Gregorii.

The Island of Sardinia thus became one more bone of contention between the Papacy and the Empire. The successors of St. Peter asserted their right to islands; just as in the previous century they disposed of Ireland, and entailed six centuries of woe on their unhappy insular victims. Frederick on the other hand declared that Sardinia had always belonged to the Empire, and that he was only reuniting to his Crown a possession which had become alienated in past years, owing to the wars that had called off the attention of his predecessors. 'I have sworn,' said he, 'as the world well knows, to recover the scattered parts of the Empire, and I will keep my word.' The Pope was furious at Enzio's mission to Sardinia, and only delayed his vengeance for a very short time.*

In November, Frederick rode to Parma, which he found a prey to faction. He therefore elected himself Podesta of the city, abdicating immediately in favour of his trusty follower, Simon Count of Chieti. He enlarged and repaired a Palace which he had at Parma, and built a very strong wall round the city, a proceeding of which he must have bitterly repented nine years later. The Brescian Ghibellines had given up all for him; he rewarded them by setting free any of their surviving countrymen, taken at Montechiari, whom they might choose.†

While Frederick had been wholly intent on the unlucky siege of Brescia, his lieutenant Eccelin, further to the East, had been attacking some of his own private enemies. James of Carrara and Azzo of Este had

* M. Paris.

† Chronicon.—The walls at Parma would seem to have needed repairs within a very few years.

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made a fruitless attempt upon Padua, relying upon a traitor's promise to deliver it up to them. Eccelin, at the head of his Germans and mountaineers, attacked the assailants in the rear. James, after being badly wounded, fled to Agna; Azzo rode hard and escaped to a distance. The former was sent by the Emperor to Mantua,* while Eccelin resolved upon effecting Azzo's ruin; he therefore despatched to his master the following letter, a most Ghibelline composition. 'To the most Invincible and Triumphant Lord Frederick, ever Augustus, his humble servant, Eccelin. The clemency of Divine love has provided that the world shall obey the Roman Empire as its natural and only principle; therefore, after my father's example, I have placed the entire hope of my life under the shield of your dominion. I am fighting, and will fight, as long as I live, for your honour; this is the seamanship by which the bark of this world is brought into harbour; this is the renowned bridle of wisdom, whereby the world, like a horse, is governed; so that by the Empire wrongs are chastised, and justice is maintained upon the earth. Behold now, by the grace of God, almost all Italy with the other provinces of the world is brought under the brilliancy of your great name; yet the men in the Castles of the Marquess of Este are still kicking against the goad, and are drawing in others. It is best to strike the serpent in the head. Wherefore deign to come into the Trevisan March; as soon as you appear, the rebels will bow their heads, or else you will crush them.'

Frederick's answer to Eccelin is dated from

* Vitæ Principum Carrariensium.

Cremona, on the 20th of December. 'Your deeds bespeak you the worthy son of your father, a faithful liegeman of the Empire. We cannot but wonder at the contents of your letter, knowing that Azzo's father stood by us in war and peace. In Apulia, in Germany, and in Lombardy, there was not one of our Princes who was more steady at our side than the late Marquess, whom we had from the cradle, as it were, for a patron and chief defender. It is strange that the son should be different from the father. We are wondering what cause the Trevisan nobles have to rebel; but we are coming after Epiphany, if God will, and about the Feast of St. Paul we shall hope to visit you, and to take counsel with you as to the Marquess.'

No year that Frederick could remember was more present to his mind than 1212. He never forgot a service rendered him at that time, the turning-point of his whole life; as is proved by the letter just quoted. Others, besides the Marquess of Este, seemed to be making ready for war against Cæsar. The Genoese had rejected his demands in the early part of the year, and he had sought to punish them; they now fortified their strong positions, among which were the belfry and gate of San Lorenzo. They also sent envoys to Pope Gregory, that he might make a treaty between their city and Venice. He took Genoa under his own protection and that of St. Peter and St. Paul, besides bestowing other privileges upon her.* At the request of the Doge, he extended his favour to Venice early in December, and made a truce between these two

* Barth. Scriba, Ann. Genuen.

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sea-powers, which was to last for nine years. Gregory had already destroyed some of the Roman strongholds of the Ghibelline party, whom 'that tortuous snake Cæsar, revealing his hidden poison, had bribed to revolt.'* Throughout Italy, the Guelfs were on the move. Frederick strove hard to disguise the true state of the case, when writing to his Apulian subjects. He begins with a compliment to their soldiery, which was attached to his other troops, like gold embroidered on silk. 'We harassed Brescia and Alessandria in such sort, that unarmed boys and aged men thought but little of throwing a stone at their walls. The sword of devastation has cut down their crops and vines. We were kept in Lombardy so late in the winter, that we have not time to visit our Kingdom. But we know that you desire the honour of our Crown, even more than you long for our presence. We are aware that you have been hardly used by our Officials, who have taken the burden of taxation off the rich and thrown it on the poor. We pity you in truth, O loyal subjects; still we must beg of you another subsidy, so forget the past.' The year 1238 at length came to an end; it had opened with the most brilliant prospects for the Emperor, but Brescia had caused him to miss his destiny. The last operation undertaken in the season was the passage of the Oglio by the Brescians on Christmas day; these tried warriors came to the help of the Milanese, and saw the enemy fly at their approach.†

Early in 1239, Frederick according to his pro-

* Vita Gregorii. † Malvecius.

mise marched Eastward from Parma, where he had kept his Christmas. He came by Vicenza to Padua with a noble following. Many of the representatives of the various nations, who had figured at the siege of Brescia, still remained with him. Germans, Apulians, Greeks, Saracens, Berbers, and Cremonese were in his train. Five miles from Padua he was met by all the citizens of that town, who made a glorious show on the occasion. Their joy found vent in the music of harps, cymbals, and other tuneful instruments; their Carroccio was brought forth, gorgeously decked out; and, what was probably still more to the Emperor's taste, many ladies of wonderful beauty, clad in costly garments, rode out to meet him on ambling palfreys. He could not help telling Eccelin, who was riding at his side, that never, either beyond or on this side of the sea, or anywhere in the world, had he seen a population, taken altogether, so renowned, so well-behaved, or so courtly in their manners. One of the common folk, named Jacobino Testa, took in his hands the banner which was fixed in the centre of the Carroccio, and cried; 'Most mighty Lord, your people of Padua offers this to you, that by the Crown on your head Padua may be maintained in justice!'* Frederick seemed to listen to the greeting of this zealous Ghibelline with a gracious mien; he took up his quarters for the night at the Bishop's Palace, and on the next day removed to the Abbey of St. Justina, which he made his abode for two months. He amused himself with hunting, in which he took great pleasure. He also often

* Rolandini.

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visited his consort Isabella at Noemta; all this time he had only given her the title of Queen, and her English brother began to remonstrate at the delay of her Coronation.

Frederick was now attended by the Archbishop of Salzburg, the Bishop of Passau, and the Count of Goritz, whom he made Judges in a quarrel that had arisen between the Bishop of Freisingen and the Count of Tyrol. He rode to Monselice, at that time the Treasury of the Empire in the Paduan district, and ordered it to be fortified. Seeing the noble Castle of Este from this point, he summoned Azzo to a conference at Monselice. He was also waited upon by a suppliant, Arnold the Abbot of St. Justina, who is highly praised by the Paduan Chroniclers as a noble man, and as a lover of courtesy and liberality. The Abbot explained that he had fled from the hands of Eccelin, and that he had been forced to leave the very monastery where Frederick was then staying, which was the Emperor's, and would continue so to be as long as Arnold lived. Frederick brought him back to his Abbey, and allowed him to dwell there. Arnold gave to his benefactor two costly pieces of tapestry, a throne most exquisitely ornamented, with a foot-stool, two waggon-loads of the best wine which rivalled the produce of the grapes of Engaddi, thirty bushels of barley, twenty-four wains of hay, and some huge sturgeons, brought from Ferrara. Arnold also very often made gifts to the Emperor's courtiers.* In March, the new Abbot of Monte Cassino, Stephen by name, waited upon Frederick and took the oath

* Rolandini. Mon. Patavinus.

to him. This monk had been before confirmed in his office by Gregory, and he now met with a kind reception from Frederick.* It was probably the last matter upon which the Pope ever agreed with the Emperor. The Peace, which had lasted for not quite nine years between the two powers, was now speedily drawing to an end. A fresh war in Palestine was about to be begun, and it had been hoped that Frederick would have led the new Crusade. A very different event was destined to render the spring of the year 1239 for ever remarkable, and to prove the ruin of this and of all future Crusades.

On the 22nd of February, Frederick had thundered forth one more edict against heretics; little thinking that he himself would soon be numbered among the hated class. On Palm Sunday, late in March, the whole population of Padua, according to old custom, were assembled in Prato Valle. Here Frederick, clad in purple robes, and crowned with the Diadem of the Empire, exhibited himself to the citizens.† His throne was placed upon a high spot, where he sat and charmed all by his demeanour. Peter de Vinea uttered an eloquent harangue in praise of his master, and knitted closer the bonds of love which bound the Paduans to their Lord. Easter Sunday followed; Frederick heard mass in the Cathedral and went back to his residence, wearing the Crown of the Empire in the sight of all, just as he had once worn another Crown in the streets of Jerusalem. But within a very few

* Ric. San Germano. † Malvecius.

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days a whisper was running through the crowd, that Frederick was an excommunicated man; that the awful sentence had been passed upon him by his Holiness in the previous week.* And such indeed was the fact.

* Rolandini.

CHAPTER XII.

A.D. 1237—A.D. 1239.

'Ahi Costantin, di quanto mal fu madre,
Non la tua conversion, ma quella dote,
Che da te prese il primo ricco Padre!'

DANTE, *Inferno*, xix.

FREDERICK'S life hitherto had been of a most varied character; but it now takes a far more curious complexion. No circumstance from one end of his reign to the other was so remarkable in its consequences as the great event of the spring of 1239. It influenced the remainder of his life, and had probably no small share in bringing him to an early grave. In order to understand it thoroughly, we must go back a few years.

The Emperor had had causes of complaint, greater or less, against Innocent, Honorius, and Gregory in succession. It was unreasonable to expect that the See of Rome would behold with calmess the amazing height to which Frederick had climbed. It was mortifying to think that she had helped in his exaltation; but instead of being her tool, he was on the road to become her master. He was able to threaten her both from the North and the South; and there was not one Monarch in Christendom, whom Rome could set up as a counterpoise against him. In more modern times, she was able to lean on France as her ally against Germany. But in the Thirteenth Century, what we now call France owned many masters. The Emperor of the Romans, the King of England, and the King

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of Arragon were lords of many of the finest French provinces. The South of France was always, and with good reason, ready to rise against the yoke of the Sovereign who dwelt on the banks of the Seine. Many men then living could remember the time, when the King of France had scarcely any real authority, except in the district between Paris and Orleans. Hence the Emperor was supreme in the councils of Europe.

Rome never willingly trusted Frederick. She seized the first opportunity of breaking with him, and strove hard to achieve his ruin in 1227 and the two following years. This effort, which was but a preparatory skirmish, turned out a complete failure. The real battle was delayed for many years. Even after Pope Gregory's reconciliation with Frederick, the correspondence between the reunited powers was anything but friendly. This was especially the case in the year 1236, when the contention between them, as may be seen in the letters already quoted, began to wax very sharp. But the sack of Vicenza must have suggested prudent counsels to the Pope; he must have seen with dismay that his friends in Northern Italy could not be relied on as a check upon the Emperor. For the next two years, the Papal letters lose their tartness, and only by indirect means aim at the diminution of the Imperial power in Italy.

The disaster at Vicenza was speedily followed by the overthrow of the Duke of Austria, the only rebel in Germany. It seemed that Frederick the Second made shorter work of his enemies, than either his grandfather or his father, with far greater advantages, had been able to do. The first fruit of the

Emperor's success in Italy was, that Gregory replaced the factious Bishop of Palestrina by two Legates of far milder mood, a choice of which Frederick was graciously pleased to approve. The Pope dared not protest openly against the election of Frederick's second son as King of the Romans. Innocent would have moved heaven and earth to prevent such an appointment; and even Honorius had clearly shown that he viewed with displeasure the promotion of Frederick's eldest son to that post. But the times were not favourable to any display of spirit on the part of Gregory. The only occasion on which he offered to create the least annoyance in 1237, was when he threatened Frederick's Seneschal in Provence with excommunication, unless the Archbishop of Arles was left in peace.

The two great projects of the Pope at this time were the pacification of Lombardy, and the renewal of the Crusade against both the Moslem in Palestine and the Greeks on the Bosphorus. He scandalized many of the faithful by calling to his aid the Count of Brittany, a stout warrior, but a treacherous statesman. John de Brienne died this year, and few in Christendom were able to take his place. The Crusade was preached, and much money was wrung from English purses. But the Latin Emperor was driven from the East, and his subjects shook off the yoke of Rome. A great battle was lost in Palestine by the Christians. A most doleful letter was sent to the Legate in England by his brother Levite, John Colonna, who complained of the evils threatening the Church, and of the absence of wisdom at head-quarters.*

* M. Paris.

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Gloomy were the prospects of Rome at this time; heresy was unsubdued in Southern France and Northern Italy; her subjects were losing ground in foreign parts; and a mighty Despot seemed about to lay his hands upon her.

Gregory wrote to Frederick early in November, 1237, announcing that an army of Crusaders, chiefly Frenchmen, were ready to start for Palestine in the spring. This host was but poorly equipped; the sword of the Lord must not be returned to its scabbard. Frederick was earnestly requested to further the expedition, as he and his son Conrad would be the parties most immediately benefitted by its success. Von Salza and the Archbishop of Messina, being then with the Emperor, received orders to support the prayer of the Pope. But Frederick had something else uppermost in his mind; he was just on the eve of his great victory at Cortenuova. A few days after that battle, he wrote back word, that the Crusaders had arranged with him for the delay of the Eastern enterprise for twelve months. The Truce, his great achievement in Palestine, would not be over until the year 1239. He promised not to request any further postponement of the Crusade; he himself would superintend the embarkation. He sent the news of this arrangement to his brother-in-law, Richard Earl of Cornwall, with an invitation to Sicily. Twelve months, so the Emperor thought, would make him master of all Italy. He had in the previous year haughtily announced to Rome, that he would allow no premature breach of the Truce which he had made with Sultan Kamel in 1229. He must have enjoyed the dismay into which Gregory would be thrown on the arrival of the letters announcing the

Cortenuova disaster, dismay which would be heightened by the subsequent appearance of the battered Milanese Carroccio, on its way to the Capitol.

His Holiness was in greater perplexity than ever in January, 1238, as is evident by the character of the ambassador he then picked out as his envoy to Frederick. We hear no more of the pushing Chaplain Alatrino, or of the turbulent Bishop of Palestrina. The messenger now chosen to represent Gregory was a remarkable man, well known for his devotion to the Emperor. Immediately after the death of St. Francis, the Grey Order had placed Brother Elias at their head. His portrait, one of the earliest in fresco that exists, is still preserved in the Church of Assisi, although painted before the birth of Cimabue. The friar had been one of the earliest converts of St. Francis, with whom he had great influence, and to whom he is said to have acted the part of a mother.* Elias bore witness, in a letter bearing date the year 1226, to the truth of the Stigmata. He was afterwards deposed from his office for a few years, and it was given to John Parente. In 1230, he made a great effort to regain his power, at the time when the relics of St. Francis were translated to Assisi in a most disorderly manner; indeed, it is said that Elias kept to himself the secret of the place where the Founder's bones lay, much to the disappointment of the Brethren who had come from a distance. He was at last replaced at the head of the Order in 1232, against the earnest wishes of St. Antony of Padua and other leading men of the Franciscans. The great learning of the restored General naturally made

* Thomas a Celano.

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the Emperor his friend; and the manner in which he promoted the study of Theology gave him vast influence with Pope Gregory, who had built a Palace at Assisi. But Elias soon threw the whole Brotherhood into confusion. He exacted large sums of money from the Provincial Ministers for the new buildings at Assisi, especially for a huge bell. He was merciless in his infliction of penances, and brought into the Order many useless brethren, some of whom he promoted to unsuitable posts. Discipline was relaxed, and the friars wore long beards like the Greek or Armenian clergy. Lay brethren were preferred to those in holy orders, and the use of Latin was objected to as displaying a want of holy simplicity. Elias constructed for himself a charming retreat, not far from Cortona, where he kept his sleek palfreys, against all rule, and dressed his servants in parti-coloured liveries, as though their master had been a Bishop. Among these menials was a first-rate cook from Padua, who adhered to his patron throughout his troubles up to the day of his death. Elias was said to dabble in Alchemy, and all brethren versed in this science were kept at head-quarters. He would summon none but Italians to the Chapters of the Order, fearing that the Transalpines would depose him. Grumblers compared him to a beggar on horseback.* His whole soul was bent on retaining his power over the Brethren for the term of his life, and at present he was firm in the saddle.†

* Patecelo's line is applied to him by Salimbene;

'E villan ki fi messo a cavallo.'

† Salimbene. Thomas de Eccleston. The latter says; 'Quis in universo Christianitatis orbe vel gratiosior, vel famosior, quam Helias?'

This was the man whom the Pope made his envoy to the Emperor, in the beginning of 1238. Early in February Elias reached Parma, where he received young Salimbene into the Franciscan Order, much to the disgust of Salimbene's father. The sorrowing parent a few months afterwards procured letters from the Emperor to Brother Elias, with the view of regaining the neophyte; but Salimbene refused to return to the world. The Franciscan General lodged in the Convent of his Order, and there received a visit from Gerard of Correggio, the Podesta of Parma, called Gerard of the Tusks, from his prominent teeth. According to Salimbene, who witnessed the interview, Elias was sitting before a great fire in the Refectory, and would not stir from his seat to return the Podesta's greeting; this was thought the act of a clown. He had come into the North, so he told the Official, attracted and at the same time urged on by two equal forces; he was drawn to the side of his friend the Emperor, and he was driven forward by the orders of his friend the Pope.

The embassy of Brother Elias bore no good fruit, friend though he was to both parties. Frederick was making his triumphant progress through Piedmont, and would not hear of peace. Higher and higher soared the Hohenstaufen Eagle; lower and lower sank the Papal power. Gregory made a fresh effort in March to restore the waning authority of Rome, which was now bearded even by the schismatical Patriarch of Antioch. Baldwin, the Latin Emperor of the East, was making a tour through Western Europe, seeking aid against the Greeks. He met with a cold reception in England, but raised

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an army in France, which delayed his ruin for a short time.* The Pope sent one of his notaries, Gregory of Romagna, with letters to Frederick, exhorting him to grant a free passage to the Latin Crusaders, the husbandmen to whom the Lord had delivered His Greek vineyard. Vataces and his adherents were excommunicated once a year, in consequence of their blind resistance to the claims of St. Peter and his successors. Frederick had thrown difficulties in the way of the new enterprise; he was now reminded that the Church could not connive at anything which aimed at the overturn of the Catholic faith. This is a very mild remonstrance, if we compare it with former ones. It seems to have had no effect upon the Emperor, who was soon afterwards aided at the siege of Brescia by the soldiers of the perverse Vataces.

This siege at last proved to the world that Frederick was not invincible. The Pope and his friends throughout Italy began to bestir themselves. The Emperor's partizans in the Trevisan March were tampered with; his excommunication was openly debated; and he found himself under the necessity of making humble overtures to Rome, a step which he took by the advice of his nobles.†

Dates here become important. On the 9th of October, Frederick left the stubborn walls of Brescia, and thus acknowledged himself beaten. On the 28th of October, four Prelates, acting under a Papal commission, were putting the once-dreaded Emperor through an examination. Two of the Inquisitors were Germans, two of them Italians.

* M. Paris. † See his letters for 1240.

They were not likely to be very hard upon Frederick; the first of them was Landolf Bishop of Worms, who had once been a rebel, but who had redeemed the past by following the Kaiser across the Alps to the field of Cortenuova, when all the other high Princes of the Empire had hung back. He was rewarded by two Charters shortly after the examination. The second was the Bishop of Wurzburg, who had been sent by the rebel party in 1235 to enlist King Louis of France on their side,* but who had wiped out his disloyalty by bearing arms at the siege of Brescia. Martin of Colorno, the Bishop of Parma, was probably not a very stern Inquisitor, since he was too apt to allow the laity to encroach upon his privileges, and had incurred a rebuke from Rome on account of his unseasonable mildness.† The Bishop of Vercelli was the fourth of the Papal Commissioners. They appeared, not without fear and trembling, before the Emperor at Cremona. Some Sicilian and Lombard Prelates, and several Dominican and Franciscan friars, were also present. Frederick behaved with great submission, and made answer to each accusation preferred against him by the Church, having first been furnished with a copy of the indictment. Many of the charges brought forward in 1236, but suppressed after the sack of Vicenza, were now once more placed before the world.

The Sicilian cathedrals and monasteries were said to be despoiled, but Frederick replied that he had sent his own Notary into the Kingdom to redress all grievances; the state of Monreale, Cefalu, and Catania

* Ann. Argent. † Affo.

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was satisfactorily explained; it was true that a few exchanges had been made, but always with the consent of the Church authorities. It might be alleged that the Templars and Hospitallers had been deprived of part of their goods, but this had been done in accordance with the old laws of Sicily. It was not true that ecclesiastical dignities were left vacant, or that illegal taxes were laid on Church property. A new Imperial decree had been issued against usurers. If clergymen were proscribed and executed, this was in consequence of their treason and crimes. The Bishop of Venosa had been killed by one of his own clergy, and an instance had been known of monk slaying monk without any canonical punishment following.* The Church of Lucera might be repaired, and the Emperor himself was ready to help in rebuilding it. The Church of Sora might be rebuilt, but not the city. All those who had taken part against Frederick at the time of his Crusade might dwell in peace in the Kingdom, if they would only give satisfaction to those who had complaints against them. The nephew of the King of Tunis might be baptized, if he chose. Peter the Saracen had been imprisoned, it was true, as a slanderer of the Emperor, in spite of letters from the King of England; orders had been given to set Brother Jordan free, though he had defamed the Emperor in his sermons. No sedition against the Pope had been excited in Rome by Frederick's agents. The Emperor had never ordered the detention of the Bishop of Palestrina. It was the fault of the Lombards that peace had not been made in Italy, and that the Crusade

* This may remind us of the age of Becket.

had been hindered. The Sicilian Archbishops, whom Frederick had lately sent as his envoys to Rome, had been trifled with by the Pope; still the Emperor was ready now, as he always had been, to protect the Church in all her rights.

This was the substance of the examination into Frederick's conduct, instituted by the four Prelates at Cremona. But Gregory was unwilling to pause in his new policy; he had already foreshadowed his future enmity by forbidding the Anconitans and Spoletans to help the Emperor in the war, by countenancing the rebellious Venetians, and by giving the Legatine office in Lombardy to his warlike Chaplain, Gregory of Montelongo, who had been once before recalled from that province at the Emperor's request.* In vain did Frederick keep the highest dignitaries of Sicily running to and fro between the Papal and Imperial Courts throughout November and December.† He gave fresh cause for scandal by forbidding the Bishop of Palestrina, who had been charged with a mission against the Albigenses, to pass through the Imperial dominions.

Towards the end of the year, Frederick's good name was assailed by various reports. It was said that he was wavering in the faith; in proof of this the light speeches attributed to him were repeated, and probably lost nothing in the telling. He was at one time called a Mohammedan; at another time he was said to class Mohammed with Moses and Jesus, all three being in his view impostors. It was averred that he was in league with the Saracens, whom he favoured more than the Christians; his harem was

* See Frederick's letters for 1240. † Ric. San Germano.

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said to be full of Saracen harlots. The monk of St. Albans, who sets down these calumnies, cannot believe them to be true of so great a Prince, and leaves Frederick's character in the hands of God.

The year 1239 came at last, and the great plunge was to be made. The efforts of all, who understood the real interests of the Holy See, were to be directed to bringing back the old state of things; the separation of the Empire and the Kingdom. In happier times, Rome had been able to balance the German rulers of Northern Italy and the Norman rulers of Southern Italy against each other, sitting as arbitress between the rival powers. Italy seemed to have been sundered in twain for the welfare of the Papacy and of the whole Christian world. In the middle of the Eleventh century, Pope Leo the Ninth had led the warriors of Suabia against the brethren of Guiscard. A few years later, that brave Duke had been called in by Hildebrand against the German tyrant, and had sacked Rome with unheard-of ferocity. In the next century, Pope Innocent the Second had relied upon the Emperor Lothaire as the chief bulwark of the Holy See against the Normans, who were upholding an Antipope. Still later, Alexander the Third, after assuring himself of the protection of the Sicilian King, had thwarted the mighty Barbarossa. The baneful match, which placed the Crowns of Aix-la-Chapelle and Palermo on one head, all but proved the downfall of the Papacy. But when these evil Hohenstaufen times were overpast, Rome once more returned to her old balancing policy. She approved the election of the first Habsburg, in order to counteract her former ally, Charles of Anjou. She found in the grandson of Charles of

Anjou her best support against the periodical inroads of German Cæsars.

The danger in 1239 was no common one. What Rome would have become, had Frederick the Second been allowed to hold on in his victorious career, may be seen by the analogous instances of Constantinople and Moscow. The Spiritual power would have been the slave of the Temporal Ruler. The Pope would have sunk into a mere puppet in the hands of the Emperor, a mere Registrar of the decrees of Augustus. Frederick, like the present Czar, would have enjoyed absolute sway over both clergy and laity, over souls as well as bodies. The Bark of St. Peter would have been driven to hoist fresh colours. The Banner of the Keys would have been hauled down, and would have been replaced by the Eagle of the Hohenstaufens. All grand visions of empire, reaching into the uttermost parts of the earth, would have come to an end. The Papal system would have been broken up long before its appointed time. It is not likely that foreign Princes would have remained content to obey a Bishop, who was but a tool in the hands of an Emperor already far too powerful. The planets would therefore have ceased to revolve around the Sun. Canterbury, Rheims, Gran, and Toledo, would each have usurped a portion of the authority of Rome. The proud Prelates of Germany would have claimed equality with the successors of St. Peter. All the dazzling dreams of Hildebrand and Innocent would have failed of their realization. The Bishop of Rome, shorn of his Temporal power, would have had to content himself with figuring in great pageants at the Imperial pleasure; and his aggressive movements would have been restricted to an occa-

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sional wrangle with the Greek Patriarch on the Filioque or the Azyms.

Rome saw her danger and rose up, equal to the crisis; the Lombards must be supported, or else they would soon be on their knees. She had already succeeded in uniting Genoa and Venice in a common league, and many other cities were ready to revolt from the Emperor. Now, if ever, the blow must be struck. There was no drifting into war here; the danger was looked full in the face; Rome chose her part deliberately. She was not prepared to give up the policy which had made her the mistress of the world. She would promptly make her declaration of war, for which she had many plausible pretexts. The burnt Church of Sora, the unbaptized nephew of the King of Tunis, Frederick's jests upon the Eucharist, might all be paraded before the eyes of the vulgar. But the true cause of war was carefully kept in the background.

The question was doubtless debated at great length in the councils of the Lateran. We should have liked to know what was said by Cardinal Colonna, what by Cardinal Fiesco, what by our own countryman, Cardinal Summercote; all the chances of war must have been well balanced by these far-seeing statesmen. They well knew the gigantic strength of the enemy with whom they had to deal. The coming struggle would task all the undivided energies of Rome. The Latin Christians on the Jordan and on the Bosphorus must be left to their fate; the arms of Crusaders would be wanted nearer home. England would furnish money; France perhaps would furnish men. Germany might be divided against herself. Little help could be expected from Lower Italy; but Upper

Italy abounded with Guelf states, ready to declare themselves, who would soon rally around their natural leader the Pope. After Cortenuova, it would be madness to risk another pitched battle; but Brescia had shown what Italians could do behind walls. Such were the chances of the struggle, and Rome girded herself for a Thirty years' war.

Frederick, then at Padua, had an inkling of what was going on at the Lateran. 'You are the equals of the Pope,' he thus writes to the Cardinals, 'and you must bear an equal part of the blame. His Holiness (O that he were a just Judge!) is said to be on the point of deposing the Emperor, the Advocate of the Church, on trivial grounds, in order to favour the Lombard rebels. We may be driven to reprisals in self-defence. The Pope and his house alone are not worthy of our vengeance. We beseech you then to look to yourselves, and to compel his Holiness to moderate counsels.' This threatening letter had no effect. On Palm Sunday, the 20th of March, and again on Holy Thursday, Pope Gregory excommunicated the Emperor. Many of the Cardinals were present, and heard Frederick's soul consigned to the Devil. The fearful sentence, couched in appropriate words, struck awe into the hearts of all listeners.*

'In the Name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, and of ourselves, we excommunicate and anathematize the Emperor Frederick; because he has stirred up a sedition in Rome; because he has obstructed the Bishop of Palestrina; because he will not allow twenty

* M. Paris.

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Sicilian Sees and two Abbeys to be filled.' The indictment consists of seventeen counts, most of which have been touched upon before. The murder of Clergymen, the profanation of Churches, the unrepaired Church of Sora, the detention of the Tunisian convert, the imprisonment of Peter the Saracen, are all laid before the world. The Emperor is excommunicated, because he has seized Ferrara, Bologna, Sardinia, and other appurtenances of the See of Rome. His oppression of the Sicilian Nobles and Churches, his robbery of the Templars and Hospitallers, his taxation of the Clergy, his breach of faith with the rebels of 1229, and his opposition to the Crusade, are all brought forward. His subjects are therefore released from their oath of allegiance. It is moreover hinted that he is by no means sound in the faith. The Archbishop of Milan is ordered to publish the sentence forthwith throughout Northern Italy, with ringing of bells and with lighting of candles.

On hearing the news of his excommunication, the Emperor in April held a council in his Palace at Padua. He sat in his chair while Peter de Vinea spoke in his behalf, taking as the text of the discourse two lines of Ovid:—

> 'Stripes, dealt with justice, must be meekly borne;
> Stripes, with injustice dealt, give cause to mourn.'*

On this text the eloquent Peter harangued, as probably no other layman of the age could have harangued. Well might their Lord, the most merciful and just Emperor since the days of Charlemagne, complain of the rulers of the Church! Frederick

* Leniter, ex merito quicquid patiare, ferendum est;
Quæ venit indignè pœna, dolenda venit.

himself did not disdain to protest before the people that if the sentence was just, he was ready to bow to it in all respects; but it was unrighteous. He was amazed, he said, at the Papal ministers proceeding against him with such rashness, and at their inflicting so enormous a punishment upon one who had given them no ground of offence. The citizens of Padua were divided in opinion.

Frederick now rode to Treviso, and after receiving a warm welcome, appointed James of Morra as Podesta of that city with the consent of the people. This Apulian nobleman is described as a man of forethought, wisdom, and loyalty. Seven years later, the Emperor would change his opinion as to the Podesta's character. Frederick afterwards came back to Padua, and gave a safe-conduct to Azzo of Este and his partizans, who accordingly returned. The brothers Eccelin and Alberic on the other hand took secret counsel with their party against their enemies, thus restored to the Imperial favour. Frederick now proceeded to guard against rebellion by exacting hostages, saying that this was the way to secure peace. Some of these were sent to Apulia, others to Vicenza and Mantua; the men were thus marked out for ruin.

The Emperor went to Vicenza, the scene of his old exploit, and there held a conference with all the nobles of the Trevisan March. He set free a captive, Jordan the Prior of St. Benedict of Padua, whom Eccelin had kept in prison for almost two years, and whose captivity had been charged upon the Emperor by the Pope in the late excommunication. This Churchman was let out, besides some other prisoners, and was handed over to the Patriarch of Aquileia.

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Eccelin insisted on its being stipulated, that Jordan should not return to Padua. The Emperor ordered the surrender of the Castle of Monteclo, in which he placed an Arab garrison. He thought that he had now nothing to fear from the Trevisan March, and so prepared to return into Lombardy.* But he was mistaken in his opinion of the loyalty of North Eastern Italy, as will soon be seen.

Alberic of Romano had beheld with anger the exile of his daughter, whom he is said to have loved more than his treasures or his pleasures. She had been married to the son of Azzo, under the auspices of Friar John of Vicenza. The young couple had been among the hostages sent off into Apulia by the Emperor's command, and they never returned. Alberic in revenge quitted the Ghibellines, with whom he had been acting all his life, leagued himself with Biaquin of Camino, and seized upon Treviso. Morra contrived to escape from the Guelfs, but his lady remained in their hands. This took place in May, by which time the Papal excommunication had begun to work. Gregory sent various letters to Alberic, praising his zeal for the Catholic faith and taking him under the protection of Rome.

Frederick prepared to face the revolters. He made his friend Theobald Francesco Vicar of the Empire from the Oglio as far as Trent and also Podesta of Padua. At the end of May, he brought forth the Carroccio of the latter city, and led his army as far as Castel Franco. The movement was directed by Master Theodore, the Imperial Astrologer, who chose the proper hour for it, after taking observations with his

* Rolandini.

astrolabe from the top of the great tower at Padua. Rolandini, who discourses most learnedly upon Jupiter, Leo, Virgo, and the poisonous tail of Scorpio, thinks that the Astrologer was deceived by the cloudy state of the atmosphere. Still, Master Theodore lost none of his credit with his master; for we hear of his being sent to Naples later in the year in one of the Emperor's own galleys. Frederick was followed by Azzo and Eccelin, and by a vast host of many nations, who were proud to serve under the Imperial banner. He lodged them in tents, and gave the Trevisan rebels eight days' grace. On their refusing to yield, he made a gift of Castel Franco to the Paduans, whom he highly extolled; and he confirmed to their Podesta with the Golden Bull all the lands formerly enjoyed by Treviso from the river Sila to the sea. But Frederick's followers were only in appearance united. Azzo was riding to the host at the head of a hundred horsemen from Cittadella; Eccelin with a body of twenty knights happened to be advancing from the opposite direction. 'These two Eagles were bearing down upon each other in a straight line;' the worst fears were entertained, until Azzo sent some knights with a courteous message, requesting Eccelin to turn aside either to the right or to the left; and a battle was thus averted, at least for the time. On the next day, Frederick began to ravage the Trevisan lands. On the third of June there was an Eclipse of the sun, observable all over Italy and lasting for two hours; it is among the earliest recollections of young James of Varagine, the future Archbishop of Genoa and the compiler of the renowned Golden Legend. At Lucca, where Salimbene was, confessions were made, reconciliations were effected, processions were set on foot,

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and the Podesta himself preached on the Passion of Christ. At the seat of war, the men of Castel Franco were in high spirits, declaring that the sudden darkness was a judgment from Heaven, to punish the Emperor for his ravages. Frederick in fact withdrew from the Trevisan country, 'although,' says Rolandini, 'I think he was aware of the cause of the Eclipse.' The Emperor called a council of fifty of the greatest nobles in Northern Italy, to whom he paid various sums out of his treasury, saying that he must go into Lombardy. He took with him all the Germans and Apulians, in whom he put more trust than in his other men. The cavalcade was drawing near San Bonifazio, when an untoward event greatly increased the number of Frederick's enemies. One of the Imperial followers, so it was said, put his hand to his neck, and thus made a signal to Azzo, foreshadowing the doom in store for the Guelf chief. Azzo took the hint, kept his friends well in the rear, and led them up to the strong Castle of San Bonifazio. Peter de Vinea found it impossible to recall the fugitives, though he offered security from the Emperor, and promised to redress the grievances of the Veronese Guelfs who had been tortured and robbed a short time before. Failing in this, Frederick ordered those of Azzo's friends, who had been unable to follow their leader, to be kept at Villa Nuova. Some of the sheep, too far from the shepherd, thus fell into the paws of the wolf.

The Emperor hurried on to Verona, about which he was peculiarly uneasy, knowing that it was the gate of Italy from the North, and that the crags overhanging the Adige a little distance from the city might easily be held by a hostile band. He sent off the Paduan hostages and Azzo's friends from Verona

to Cremona, there to be closely guarded. Great oppression was exercised at Padua upon those who returned from the Emperor's army. The Trevisan March soon became the theatre of war; Azzo regained his castle of Este and his other fortresses, although the Arab garrison made a stout resistance. Eccelin marched against him in August, and hanged some of the Paduan burghers for plotting with James of Carrara, Azzo's great ally. The Bishop of Padua died about this time, and the See was left unfilled for seventeen years; in other words, during the continuance of Eccelin's horrible misrule.*

On the same day that Azzo made his escape into the Castle of San Bonifazio, Peter the Count of Montebello wrested that town from the Emperor. On the 23rd of June, Leonico was delivered up by the Podesta, whom Frederick had installed there, to the Guelfs.† On the 13th of that month, the Emperor held a Council at Verona, in front of the old Church of St. Zeno. Several nobles, judges, and lawyers had been summoned by the toll of the bell and the cry of the herald. Peter de Vinea, mounted upon a horse, proclaimed in a loud voice the Ban of the Empire pronounced against Azzo, Uguccio, the Counts of Montebello and San Bonifazio, and ninety others, all of whom were named. The sons of many of the culprits were involved in their fathers' guilt. Their goods were confiscated, and their vassals were released from fealty, unless the traitors should appear within eight days. No subjects of the Empire were to have any dealings with the proscribed, and Eccelin took the oath on behalf of the Veronese, that the citizens

* Rolandini. † Antonio Godi.

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would obey the Statute in all respects. On the 26th of June, Peter de Vinea received in the Emperor's name further oaths, sworn by Eccelin and the Veronese magistrates in the meadow of St. Zeno; they swore to obey the orders of Frederick and his son, and bound themselves to keep their oaths up to Michaelmas, and longer according to the Emperor's will.*

Tiepolo had been already sent with many other captives into Apulia. Venice accordingly, eager for revenge, was making her power felt far and wide. It was Venetian gold that had backed Alberic in his revolt; and it was Venetian craft that now dealt another blow to Frederick's interests in Romagna. The Venetians and Bolognese contrived to get Ravenna into their hands.† Paul Traversaro, the great man of that city, had already in the previous year been placed under the ban of the Empire, but had afterwards been forgiven;‡ he now rebelled, gave up Ravenna to the Guelfs, and seized upon the grain and cattle belonging to the Emperor which had been left in his hands. The Ghibellines, dismayed at the sudden turn of affairs, took refuge in Bertinoro. Frederick's presence was, as we see, much needed in the East. In the last week of June he marched from Cremona at the head of an army of Germans, Lombards, Tuscans, and Apulians, and for the first time carried the war into Romagna. It was indeed high time to do something; the nobles of North Eastern Italy were almost all openly Guelf; Treviso first, and then Ravenna, had revolted; Mantua would soon follow their example. Both Venice and Genoa

* Chron. Veronense. † Chronicon.

‡ See Frederick's letters for 1238.

were now ranged on the side of the Church. On the 26th of July, the Genoese Council was assembled, according to custom, by the tolling of a bell, the blowing of a horn, and the voice of a crier. Each of the Companies was represented by six men, duly elected. A league with Venice and Rome was sworn; the two great maritime powers bound themselves to furnish twenty-five galleys each for an attack upon Sicily. The details of the proposed armament are worth quoting; it was to consist of 600 knights; every one of these had three squires, a war-horse, and two baggage horses, with provisions for two months. The Pope was to bear a specified portion of the cost, and was to pay down the money beforehand. The Roman Church was to furnish 4000 infantry and 1000 crossbowmen. The Genoese were to receive back their old stronghold of Syracuse, of which they had been long deprived by the Emperor. Venice was to have some other city in the Kingdom, and was to hold it of the Pope. No peace was to be made with Frederick without the consent of all the three allies; and the future King of Sicily, whoever might be appointed by the Roman Church, was to be bound by the terms of the league. About three months later, the Bishop of Palestrina, who did his best to justify the Emperor's hatred, received the oath of the Genoese confederates.* In September, two Venetian envoys ratified the treaty at Anagni, and claimed Barletta and Salpi for their own. Such was the storm, which Gregory had stirred up within a few months' time. The Archdeacon of Reggio, then at Rome, wrote in June to a friend in

* Liber Jurium Januæ.

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Lombardy, that Apulian nationality was a bar to a successful suit at the Pope's Court, and that the Church was with her whole strength working for the Emperor's ruin. But her efforts were not confined to Italy; the whole world was called upon to share in the awful struggle. On the 7th of April, Gregory sent forth an Encyclical Letter to the Prelates of Christendom. The benefits heaped upon the Emperor by the Holy See were all recounted; and he was compared to Adam, who was not spared by his Maker. The old causes of offence, so often touched upon, were again rehearsed; Frederick must be handed over to Satan for the destruction of his flesh, that his soul might be saved in the day of the Lord. No divine offices were to be celebrated in his presence; no clergymen were to consort with him. The sentence of excommunication was to be published in the usual way throughout all the cities of the world. How insolently Frederick had already written against his Liege Lord the Pope, was already known to all men.

The cause of the Church suffered not a little in the estimation of religious men, owing to Gregory's placing his trust in the sword and in money, instead of having recourse to fasting and prayer.* The public opinion of Christendom was courted by both Pope and Emperor; Frederick now in his turn sent round a letter to his brother Monarchs. It told of Gregory's former friendship changed into enmity, on his rise to the Papacy. The Pope had thwarted the Crusade, had sent an army into Apulia, had intrigued with the Lombard rebels, had made a secret treaty

* M. Paris.

with the Roman revolters without the knowledge of his Imperial ally, and had shown himself ungrateful for the aid in money and men brought him by Frederick in the war of Rispampini. Gregory had tried to overturn the Emperor's authority both in Palestine and in Italy; he had sent the Bishop of Palestrina to rouse Lombardy, and had scorned all overtures for peace. 'We satisfied his Commissioners,' Frederick goes on, 'and we sent back envoys with offers of satisfaction. Then this so-called Vicar of Christ the Preacher of peace, hearing that our envoys were approaching, excommunicated us, contrary to the custom of the Church, against the advice of his more moderate brethren; and he hired men to prevent our messengers from entering his presence. We do not account him our Judge, since he is the abettor of our rebels and a favourer of the heretics of Milan. Moreover, he has trafficked in dispensations in the most barefaced way, like a merchant; he paid no regard to the opinions of his brethren, but sat in his own chamber and acted as his own sealer and writer, perhaps as his own accountant. He has bestowed the goods of the Roman Church upon our rebels. He is unworthy of his place; we therefore appeal to a Council, which we call upon the Cardinals to summon. The only cause we can assign for this enmity is, that we refused to marry our natural son Enzio to the niece of the Pope. Mourn then for us, and still more for the Church; her Head is sick, since he is a roaring lion in the midst of her, a mad prophet, a faithless man, who pollutes her sanctuary. He wishes to overthrow Cæsar first; he will then tread down the rest of the Princes of earth. The true explanation of his conduct is his wish to abet our

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Lombard rebels. He advised us to make a truce with them, and while we were deliberating, he excommunicated us. We call on all the Princes of the world for help.'

Another letter was addressed by the Emperor to the Senator and People of Rome. 'Was there not one of you to rise in our behalf and speak a word for us, after all our endeavours to raise the Roman name to its old renown? Without your connivance, our blasphemer would not have dared to carry his insolence so far. If you are slack in defending our honour, we shall withdraw our favour from Rome.'

Frederick had partizans scattered over the world. They were found not among the laity alone; many of the clergy looked upon the efforts of Gregory with great distrust. The old-established Orders, the Benedictines and Cistercians, had been deeply offended in the favour shown by Rome to the upstart begging Friars. The Secular clergy found it hard to bear the Papal yoke; a vigorous resistance was made in England, Germany, and Southern Italy to the enforced clerical celibacy; and this was probably the case also in other countries. It was found impossible to keep the priests from their *presbyteræ* and *focariæ*. Besides, here and there were seen Prelates of exalted rank, who were led, either by their natural love of peace or by their study of the Scriptures, to mourn over the grasping and combative spirit of their Head. Such men were the Archbishop of Treves in Germany and the Bishop of Lincoln in England; good Christians, but bad Papists.

To suit the taste of these clerical allies, Frederick or one of his courtiers compiled a letter, making use

of Scriptural materials, which are not always applied in the best taste. 'The chief priests and Pharisees have taken counsel together against the Roman Emperor. They say, "If we let this man go, he will subdue Lombardy, and will come and take away our place and nation; he will give the vineyard of the Lord of Sabaoth to other husbandmen and will miserably destroy us. Let us smite him then with the tongue, and then we shall see clearly, what good his dreams do him." The Pharisees sitting on Moses's seat, have openly perverted judgment, and have bound an innocent and just Prince. That Father of fathers, who is called the Servant of the servants of God, has become a deaf adder and has scorned the way of peace, crying, "What I have written, I have written." But why do you shun that thing, for which the King of all put on the form of a servant? What said Christ on rising from the dead? Not, "Take the sword," but, "Peace be unto you." What else but peace did the hymn of the Angels breathe? What else did the Son of God leave to His disciples, when about to return to heaven? Peace and love are the two grand principles inculcated. If then you call yourself the Vicar of Christ and the successor of Peter, tread in their steps. Let the Campanian cleave to the Galilean.* But the faithful are amazed at this; Peter left all to follow Christ; you are ever seeking something to devour, nor can the whole world appease your craving maw. Peter said unto the lame man; "Silver and gold have I none." You, like the lame man, are intent on the things of earth. You preach poverty; why do you shun it? Why do

* Gregory came from Anagni in the Campagna.

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you heap gold upon gold? It was said unto Peter, "Rise, slay, and eat;" yet, hungry as he was, he would not eat what was unclean. You live for the sake of eating; you have your golden cups inscribed with, "I drink, thou drinkest;" and you conjugate this verb so often, that after meals you are caught up into the third heaven. When you have your belly as full of wine as it will hold, you think yourself Lord of the world. Let the Church mourn that her shepherd has become a wolf, a lover of schism, and a patron of heretics. He pretends that he is only helping the Lombards, in order that Cæsar may not bear too hard upon them. Peter used to cure the sick with his shadow. You, man of blood, are only bent upon slaughter, and you may say, "I have come to send war upon earth." Still it was once said to the Roman Prelate; "Feed my sheep," although you slay them. Christ, when on earth, made no account of earthly things. You are laying up treasure on earth; seldom or never do you bestow the treasures of the Church on the needy. Peter had nothing but his net; you have ordered a wonderful palace to be built at Anagni. Our Jerusalem, where Christ died, is the slave of the Saracens; you heed not that our inheritance has passed to others. She mourns like Rachel weeping for her children, anxiously awaiting the King of Kings, the Roman Prince. But you, wicked Herod, are afraid to go thither; a rock of offence, you have prevented Cæsar, the wonderful light of the world and its unblemished mirror, from succouring the Land of God in Cæsar's fashion. You are protecting heretics; yet the error which is not withstood, is approved. Think what return Sylvester, that most needy Pope

who long lurked in a cave, made to Constantine, who, after being cured of the leprosy, bestowed on the Church all her present honour and freedom. But Sylvester's successor is at present making a poor return to Frederick. Have you yet forgiven up to seventy times seven? Remember the text, "All power is of God; whoso resisteth the power resisteth the ordinance of God." Receive then your noble son, who craves pardon, although guiltless; otherwise our strong lion, who is now pretending to sleep, will roar and bring fat bulls from the ends of the earth, and will reform the Church by plucking out the horns of the proud.'

This Circular, which reads like a forerunner of the Reformation, appealed to the strongest passions and interests of the Christian world. England especially, so sorely taxed for the benefit of Rome, must have entered warmly into the spirit of the letter. It was dangerous to leave the Emperor's charges unanswered, especially when the contrast between the First and the Thirteenth Century was so prominently brought forward. But Gregory had a body of allies, who might be trusted to make head against the torrent of calumny poured forth upon the Apostolic See. He had only to strike the key-note, and a chorus of practised voices stood ready to take up the strain. He gave his friends their cue in the following famous Circular, which was meant to be published throughout Christendom.

'There has arisen out of the sea a Beast, full of words of blasphemy; which, formed with the feet of a bear, the mouth of a raging lion, and in its other limbs a leopard, is opening its mouth in blasphemies against God's name, and is attacking His saints. This

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Beast is striving to grind everything to pieces with its iron claws and teeth; formerly in secret, but now openly, it is trying to overthrow the Christian faith, and is employing the pen of heresy against the Testament of Christ. No wonder that we, the servants of the Lord, are assailed by its arrows, since it is now aiming at blotting out the name of the Lord from the earth. Look carefully into the head, the middle, and the lower parts of this Beast Frederick, called the Emperor, and consider the truth. He falsely says, that we broke our faith and changed our conduct towards him, on our being raised to the office of the Apostleship, though he had befriended us when we were in a lower station. We appeal to the truth; we distinguished him with our favour at all times, until he became drunk with power, and returned evil for good to his Mother the Church, stinging her like a scorpion. We excommunicated him in 1227, because he played us false in the matter of the Crusade, when he pretended sickness, being sound in body, although unsound in the faith; nor cared he for the death of the noble Landgrave of Thuringia; we trust that it was not caused by poison, as the world cries out. We applied the rod; but we offered to absolve Frederick so soon as he should sail for the East; yet he crossed the sea to Syria without being absolved, and there made a treaty which left the Lord's Temple in the hands of the Saracens. He persecuted the Church in Syria, and also in Italy; we invaded his Kingdom; many of his subjects came over to us, and they ought not be thought guilty of perjury, since they were released from their oath of fealty to Frederick by the excommunication pronounced against him. On his return we absolved him. But

this son of lies, heaping falsehoods on falsehoods, misrepresents the affairs which took place after 1230. He says we deceived him in the Lombard business; he would have gained his ends, we say, had he taken our advice and shown himself a merciful father towards his subjects, instead of attempting to overawe them. He neglected to crush heresy in Sicily, and he oppressed the clergy there. He pretended to help us against our rebels, and made a treaty with them, even while sitting at table with us. We count it an honour to be abused by such a wicked man; we had rather not be praised by him.'

After explaining the real facts of the mission to Syria entrusted to the Archbishop of Ravenna, and after describing the contested title to Citta di Castello, Gregory goes on to vindicate his late proceedings in Lombardy and the excommunication. 'Now,' says he, 'weigh in the scales the benefits which the Church has heaped upon this Dragon. She covered him with a cloak in his tender years, snatched him from the toils of the hunters, and raised him to the Empire. She gave him moreover the Kingdom of Jerusalem and upheld him against the rebellion of his son Henry. Yet this staff of the impious, this hammer of the earth, has robbed, banished, and imprisoned the Sicilian clergy, and has given over their Churches to adulterous embraces. He has built mosques on the ruins of Churches and has forbidden the preaching of the Crusade. He has taken from the nobles their castles and has forced those brought up in crimson to lie in the mire. He has reduced the barons and knights of Sicily to the state of slaves; most part of the people there have no beds, wear sackcloth, and eat coarse bread made of millet. We had often warned him;

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yet, when he came into Lombardy, we relieved from interdict, while he was present, the places which lay under that sentence. We sent the Bishop of Palestrina to establish peace; and when this blasphemer objected to him, we replaced the Bishop by two fresh Legates, who could not persuade our enemy to agree to the terms of peace they offered. He has often stirred up sedition against us in Rome, and he has seized upon Ferrara, Sardinia, and Massa, which belong to the Church. We now thought it time to send Gregory of Montelongo into Lombardy to prevent the horrors of war; then, seeing no hope of amendment, we by the advice of our brethren excommunicated the aforesaid Frederick. Though this should have brought him to his senses, he only raved the more, and accused us of being unworthy of our office and of mismanaging the Church. This man, who out of thirst for gold has reduced the Kingdom of Sicily to ashes and has sold justice, has moreover attempted to corrupt the Church and to encourage simony. He often employed his Prelates to propose a match between his family and ours; he found that he could not make us his accomplice; so, like the Egyptian harlot who accused Joseph, he disparages us with his falsehoods. This man, who delights in being called the forerunner of Antichrist, has now happily thrown aside the mask; he says we have no power to excommunicate him; thus, like a heretic, denying the right to bind and loose, which our Lord gave unto Peter. This King of pestilence openly asserts that the world has been deceived by three men, Jesus, Moses, and Mohammed; that two of these died in glory, and the third upon the cross. He also says, that none but a fool can believe that God, who created

all things, was born of a virgin; and he affirms that nothing ought to be believed, which cannot be proved by the force and reason of nature. He has moreover attacked the Catholic faith in other words, as we can prove. Wherefore we warn all men by these letters not to allow the aforesaid Frederick to undermine the hearts of faithful Christians by his lying speeches.' *

The allies, on whom Gregory reckoned with most reason, and for whose instruction the last-quoted Encyclical, the groundwork of many a stirring homily, was put forth, were the Dominicans and Franciscans. Now was the time for these Orders to repay the Holy See for her fostering care. Their influence was great in Kings' palaces and in Universities; but their help was chiefly valuable, in stirring up the common folk to take part in the great struggle. Frederick might have able Ambassadors at Westminster or Paris. Thaddeus of Sessa and Walter of Ocra were probably at least a match in diplomatic skill for any Cardinals whom Rome could boast. But Frederick had no popular orators to work upon the masses. On the other hand, Gregory had in every land hundreds of able preachers, who would set forth in the vulgar tongue the blasphemies im-

* Matthew Paris shrewdly remarks upon this Encyclical, which had a most powerful effect upon the public mind, that the Church promoted Frederick to the Empire, not out of love to him, but from hatred to Otho. The monk adds, that Frederick had done more for the Church than the Church had done for Frederick. It was often remarked, that the Pope in time past used to accuse the Emperor of believing in Mohammed, but the Pope now declared that the Emperor counted Mohammed an impostor. The English observed, that Frederick had never plundered them or sent usurers among them; which was more than could be said for the Pope.

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puted to the Emperor and the wrongs long borne by the Pope, and who would by their persuasive eloquence open the purses of the faithful. The new machinery, which Innocent had bequeathed to the Church, was worked with great success and enabled Rome in the end to achieve her darling object.

Let us place ourselves for a moment in some Italian city of the Thirteenth Century. The populace is gathered together, either in the nave of the great church, or around an extempore pulpit in the market-place. A little apart stands the parish priest, who looks on with undisguised discontent, viewing a rival orator in the same light that a portly vicar of our own time would regard a Ranting preacher. The worthy priest has evidently no good opinion of these strange new Orders of begging friars with whom the authorities at Rome are so taken, and who have free leave and license to come into his parish and thrust him on one side at their pleasure. Time was when it was thought enough for a Christian man simply to hear mass, but now it seems a settled point that sermons must be preached in the local dialect to stir up the flagging zeal of the faithful. The Benedictines of the neighbouring convent share in the discontent of the parish priest. The old and respectable Orders have no relish for these coarse ignorant friars, who go wandering about the country, clad in black and white, or with a cord tied round their waists, and who have but little reverence for their elder brethren. The area, as far as a man's voice can reach, is now full. The congregation is made up of every class. High-born ladies, brave knights, wealthy burghers, humble artizans, and uncouth peasants from the neighbourhood, are all

thronging around the pulpit. It is ascended by a man who bears evidence in his countenance of long watchings and fastings, an ecclesiastic of a very different stamp from the jovial parish priest, who has perhaps a fair *presbytera* at home, and who has been known to abuse the Confessional.* The friar begins his sermon; he extols the merits of the founder of his Order. If he be a Preacher, he tells how St. Dominic was conceived without original sin. If he be a Minorite, he fixes the attention of his hearers upon the cord of St. Francis, with which the holy man of Assisi rescues his votaries from the flames. The friar then gives the latest tidings from abroad, for in those days the pulpit was to the people what the press is to us, both giving the tone to their opinions and supplying them with news. There is much doing in Christendom in these bustling times. Perhaps a great victory has been won over the Moslem by one of the gallant Spanish Kings. Perhaps, to counterbalance this success, the unbelievers are making great efforts to wrest the Holy Sepulchre from the handful of knights, who are defending it until the long-promised help shall arrive from the West. Perhaps a more dreadful enemy, the savage Tartars, (so named, says the friar, because they have come out of Tartarus,) are laying waste Poland and Hungary with unheard-of cruelty. The preacher then dwells on the state of the Western kingdoms. The worthy Sovereign of England has yielded up his realm to the Pope's Legate, in spite of the murmuring of the people who are never weary of grumbling. Any Italian priest, with a little interest at Rome, can now

* Salimbene tells some revolting stories about this abuse.

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get a benefice in England, the chosen vineyard of the Pope, a garden of never-failing delights. The King of France, though otherwise a true son of the Church, cannot as yet be persuaded to view these revenue matters in the proper light, and declines to tax his people for the sake of the coffers of his Holiness. The friar then tells, how such stringent canons have been laid down for the punishment of the Albigenses in Languedoc, that not a heretic will in future be able to show his head; how the faithful at Milan have been roasting unbelieving Paterines by the score; how those sons of Belial, the men of Pisa, have been making use of their maritime strength to deal the Church some fresh blow. He then comes to the great topic of his discourse, the Emperor Frederick. Scripture is ransacked to supply parallels for the cruelty and unbelief of this miscreant. Pharaoh, Ahab, Nebuchadnezzar, Antiochus, Herod, Pilate, and Nero, are all pressed into the service. This degenerate Cæsar went to the rescue of the Holy Land and might have been Judas Maccabæus, but chose rather to be Judas Iscariot and to betray the cause of God. He is the Abomination of desolation, the Man of Sin, the Antichrist that should come, the Beast whom St. John foretold, and whose mark too many in Italy have received. For these friars of old, more especially the disciples of Joachim, could handle and apply the mysteries of Daniel or the Apocalypse, as readily as any eagle-eyed divine of our own day. The effect of the sermon upon the hearers is most powerful. The Ghibellines hang their heads; the Guelfs are assured that theirs is the cause of Heaven. The burghers vow that they will stand by His Holiness in this great struggle, and that they will

hold out their city against the Emperor, if need be, with all the stubbornness of Brescia or Faenza. We can have but a slight idea of the effect produced throughout Italy and Germany by such sermons as these. The throne of our Charles the First was shaken by the Puritan preachers. Keeping this in mind, we shall have some notion of the amazing power wielded by the begging friars, which was brought to bear upon an ignorant people in an ignorant age. Now was seen the wisdom of the great Innocent in raising two such armies for the future defence of the Church as those furnished to him by St. Dominic and St. Francis. To them it was mainly owing that Rome came forth conqueror from those awful struggles of the Thirteenth Century, in which she had to contend, first with a wide-spread revolt among her own flock, and then with one of the greatest Emperors who ever sat in the seat of Charlemagne.

One however of these two spiritual armies already stood in need of reform. Elias, the General of the Minorites, was engaged in the hard task of striving to serve two masters ; he was, by his own statement, friendly in an equal degree to the Pope and to the Emperor. An early opportunity was seized of cashiering this half-hearted officer from the Papal service. The particulars of his dismissal are worth relating, as English influence is traceable throughout the whole affair. Shortly before this time, Elias had sent a German Visitor into England, who had thrown the whole Franciscan Order into confusion by his harsh interpretation of the duties of the Confessional. A Provincial Chapter, held at Oxford, appealed against their General. Arnulf, the Pope's English Peniten-

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tiary, told Gregory plainly, that if the Devil had been incarnate, he could not have found a better noose for ensnaring souls than the late Visitation. Arnulf had influence enough to get a Chapter General of the Order convoked at Rome for the 15th of May. Seven Cardinals attended the Pope, who opened the proceedings with a sermon on Nebuchadnezzar's dream, and took for his text the words; 'As for thee, O King, thy thoughts came into thy mind upon thy bed, what should come to pass hereafter.' Elias now began his defence. 'At my election,' said he, 'the brethren agreed that I should eat gold and keep a horse, if my weakness required it; now however they are scandalized at me.'

Brother Haymo of Feversham rose up to answer this speech; he had once already procured the deposition of Elias, and had been employed in many offices of trust. The Pope, however, was at first unwilling to hear any reply, until Robert de Summercote, the English Cardinal, came to the help of his countryman. 'My Lord,' said Robert to Gregory, 'yonder old man is a good man, and you had better hear him, since he is a short speaker.' Brother Haymo was at length allowed to proceed; his person, worn with long fastings and penances, must have been a great contrast to that of the luxurious Elias, who sat undismayed, while his Kentish rival stood up trembling before the august assembly. Haymo modestly explained, that his brethren had never meant that their General should amass treasures, or ride upon palfreys and destriers. 'You lie!' shouted Elias, stung to the quick. Each had his partizans, who forthwith began a riotous contest. The Pope enjoined silence, remarking; 'this is not the way

that religious men behave.' He sat long in meditation; in the mean time his nephew, Cardinal Rinaldo Conti, the Protector of the Franciscans, advised Elias to place his resignation in Gregory's hands. The General refused; and at length the Pope, while praising him highly, decreed his removal from his post, to the great joy of all. In his place Albert of Pisa was elected, who immediately celebrated mass, and dismissed the assembly.* Henceforward the Franciscan Order, purged of its Ghibelline leaven, took the lead in stirring up the war against the Emperor.

This scene at Rome took place only two months after Frederick's excommunication. Elias retired to his chosen retreat near Cortona, and naturally enough threw himself into the arms of the Imperial faction. Gregory strove to get the friar once more into his power, and sent him an invitation to a conference. Elias gained the Emperor's consent, and travelled as far as Viterbo on his way to Rome. Suspecting some treachery on the Pope's part, he sent on two of his brethren, who nearly fell into the clutches of Gregory's spies, while Elias made his escape back to the Emperor. This gave occasion for another letter, in which Frederick inveighed against the Pope's guile, and detailed the outrage meditated against the late Minister of the Franciscans, who had been appointed by St. Francis himself, and who had been deposed on account of his love of justice and his loyalty to the Emperor. Elias himself was speedily excommunicated, whereupon he in his turn ventured to excommunicate the Pope.† Had the times been

* Thomas de Eccleston. † M. Paris.

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favourable to such a stretch of Imperial prerogative, Elias would probably have been set up by the Emperor as an Antipope. But Frederick the Second could not venture upon a measure, which Frederick the First with far greater advantages had tried and found a failure.

The Emperor addressed one more angry letter to the Cardinals in July. 'God has appointed two Lights in the firmament, which do not clash, since the greater bestows light on the lesser; just so He has established the Priesthood and the Empire, to keep peace on earth. But the present Pope, a Pharisee anointed with the oil of iniquity, is striving to upset this arrangement. Perhaps he thinks that he is acting according to the laws of Nature, when he tries to eclipse the brightness of our majesty by sending lying letters abroad, which call in question the purity of our faith. He has written, that we are the Beast rising up out of the sea. We declare that he himself is the Beast of which we read; "that there went out another horse that was red; and he that sat upon him took peace from the earth, that they should kill one another." He is the great Dragon, that led astray the whole world; the Antichrist; a second Balaam who has been hired to curse us. He is the Angel that came out of the pit, having vials full of bitterness, to hurt the earth and the sea. This false Vicar of Christ accuses us of saying, that the world has been deceived by three Impostors. Far be such blasphemy from our lips, for we believe that Jesus Christ is the only-begotten Son of God, co-eternal and co-equal with the Father and the Holy Ghost. But we believe that Mohammed's body is hanging in the air tormented by devils, and that

his soul has been given to hell, since his works were dark and against the law of the Most High. We say that Moses was the friend of God, and that he is now in heaven. In these and other matters our Accuser has put forth lying and poisonous statements against us. We are amazed, that you who are the foundations of the Church, the Senators of Peter's city, the hinges of the world, have not bent the purpose of our Judge, just as in heaven one planet opposes another. In truth, Imperial happiness is always being assailed by Papal envy. Simonides, on being asked why none envied him, answered, "Because I have never had any good fortune." The Pope is jealous of our success in Lombardy; over this he groans. Let him confine himself to offering up the Host and to burning incense. We reverence the Church, but we disapprove of her ministers. Unless you can restrain our enemy, Augustus will be driven to revenge.'

Such were the charges and the epithets, freely bandied about between the two heads of Christendom. Each appealed to public opinion; each sought for help from distant lands. But the Empire was of course the great scene of strife. Its component parts, Germany and Upper Italy, were about to be laid waste by a long and desperate struggle. The Aristocratical spirit of the former country, and the Municipal tendencies of the latter, were alike called into play. Upper Italy had long been inured to civil war. Almost every one of her cities was divided within itself, containing one party zealous for the Church, another staunch to the Empire. These factions had usually local names; in Genoa they were

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called the Rampini and Mascherati;* in Imola, the Bricci and Mendoli; in Cremona, the Capelletti and Barbarasi; in Parma, the Reds and the Blacks. But the two famous names, which in the end swallowed up all the other local terms, were first adopted in Florence; thence they overspread Tuscany; at length, although not until after Frederick's death, they came to be used all over Northern Italy.† The Guelfs and the Ghibellines are the most renowned and long-lived factions in the history of mankind. The antagonism, though not the names, of the parties existed long before Frederick was born; yet the Chroniclers were fond of ascribing the origin of these factions to him, aided as he was by the wickedness of man and the iniquity of the Devil.‡ The Guelfs made freedom their watchword and were under the guidance of the Popes, who led the battle against the German tyrants. Hence some historians have somewhat rashly inferred that Rome has always been favourable to freedom. They point to the powerful aid brought by Pope Alexander the Third to the struggling Lombard states, when almost borne down by Barbarossa. They also instance the patriotic endeavours of Innocent the Third to drive the Germans out of Italy. Again, it is undoubtedly true, that Boniface the Eighth strove hard to rescue Scotland, when she was writhing in the grasp of Edward the First. But just as many instances might be brought

* Paolo Pansa.

† Salimbene, who thus confirms Malespini the Florentine. Properly speaking, I ought not to have used the famous names in my work, since they were not universally employed at this time. But they are far too convenient to be parted with.

‡ Salimbene.

forward to show that Rome has allied herself with despotism. That same Innocent, who was so good an Italian patriot, was the most determined enemy of our Great Charter, and released the tyrant John from his oath to observe it. Indeed throughout this Thirteenth Century, when England first started in the race of freedom, the Popes were the bitterest foes to anything like patriotism on the part of England's nobles and clergy. In our own times, no nation ever had a better claim on Rome than Poland, and yet a late Pope manacled his spiritual subjects on the Vistula by an Encyclical Letter, and chid them for withstanding their Schismatical tyrant.* The truth is, that self-interest is Rome's pole-star; to further this, she will ally herself either with freedom or with despotism. For ages the Popes found their advantage in standing at the head of Italian nationality. Ever since the time of Hildebrand, they were the great obstacles to the establishment of the German sway in Italy. How they carried on their favourite policy in the Thirteenth century will be seen in the course of this work. Two hundred years later, to quote the phrase of Pope Paul the Fourth, Rome acted as one of the four strings which kept the Italian harp in tune. In the Sixteenth Century, when France, Germany, and Spain made Italy their battle-ground, the Popes headed many conspiracies to scare all foreign robbers from the fair prize. Julius the Second, Clement the Seventh, and Paul

* The reprimand, given by the famous Bull of 1832 to the patriotic Roman Catholic clergy of Poland, is well known. It is but justice to Gregory XVI. to say, that he avowed his mistake in another Bull of 1842. The best act in the life of this Pope was his rebuke of the Czar, during a personal interview.

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the Fourth took the lead in this generous policy. In the very worst times, when the whole land lay prostrate at the mercy of the House of Habsburg, and when Milan, Naples, and Palermo alike groaned under a Spanish yoke, the Barberini Pope dared to talk of resistance, and was threatened with a descent of Wallenstein into Italy.* Our own age has seen for a moment the revival of the old Guelf spirit under its rightful head, when the present Pope sternly rebuked the Austrian occupation of Ferrara, and seemed to be on the point of leading an Italian crusade against the foreigner. The hymn of Pope Pius the Ninth rang from one end of the land to the other; but the fair prospect was soon overcast, and the priest got the better of the patriot in the breast of Pius.

The Ghibellines on the other hand looked up to a foreigner as their head. Many good patriots were to be found in the ranks of this party; these, weary of endless civil wars, thought that the only hope of peace lay in submitting to the rule of a despot. If ever any man loved his country, that man was Dante, who may be taken as the mouthpiece of the Ghibelline spirit. He looks upon the person of a Roman Emperor with mysterious reverence. Popes and priests may be doomed to grotesque sufferings in the nether world, but a Cæsar must always be treated with respect. The murder of Julius is the greatest crime, save one, that earth has ever seen. Brutus and Cassius are placed by the side of Iscariot. Even the Pagan persecutor Trajan is rescued from hell. The feeble Justinian is exalted to undue honours in

* See Von Ranke.

Paradise. None of the old German Cæsars undergo everlasting punishment on account of their resistance to the Popes. One alone is doomed to hell, but that is for of his supposed infidel opinions. His fate is recorded in one short line of the Inferno, for the sufferings of an Emperor are not meet for the ears of the vulgar. To return to earth; Dante's remedy for the woes of his country would seem a strange one to an Italian patriot of our own day. It is simply this, that the Emperor, a German elected by Germans, should make Rome his residence, and should thence rule Italy at his will. The poet puts forth his whole strength in the lines which recommend this policy. But who is the despot, whose invoked presence is to be the source of countless blessings? It is Albert of Habsburg, known to us chiefly as the despoiler of the rights of his nephew, and as the patron of the infamous Gessler.

In the year 1239, the two great parties were fairly brought face to face. The Guelfs shouted for the Pope and freedom; the Ghibellines for the Emperor and order. The former cursed the heretical tyrant, the worst of his wicked race, who was bringing Germans from the North and Arabs from the South to sweep away the hard-won rights of the Italian cities. The Ghibellines pointed to the bloody wars between neighbouring towns, wars that had never ceased to rage within the memory of man. What prospect of happiness or peace could there be, unless the Emperor should appear in Italy and put down all civil broils with the strong hand? Italy in that age found it hard to draw the line between freedom and anarchy, between order and

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tyranny. She has learnt better now; but in the Thirteenth Century she was divided into two camps. Genoa, Milan, Venice, Bologna, and Perugia were the chief Guelf states. Pisa, Cremona, Padua, Modena, and Siena were at the head of the Ghibelline interest. We can have but a slight idea of the fierce spirit evoked by the two great party names. Dante's lines give us an insight into the depth of hatred with which each state regarded its neighbour. We learn from the great Florentine how Pisa was the shame of Italy, how Pistoia was a den of thieves, how Genoa was a city of men void of honour, how Rome was the basest of them all. If one state took the Guelf side, that was reason enough for its neighbour to become Ghibelline. Revolutions of politics were frequent; exiles abounded, ever on the watch to wreak their vengeance on those who had driven them out. The very family names used in that age imply its spirit; how full of meaning are the names Caccianemico and Prendiparti!

The most horrible phase of the civil war was, when it sundered families, or rendered all government impossible. What a picture of factious rage is drawn by an admiring eye-witness! There was a club at Parma called that of the Crusaders, who combined together for the honour of God and Holy Church; they had a King's name inscribed at the head of their rolls in golden letters by his own special desire. They stuck to each other like bees; if a fellow-citizen who did not belong to the club chanced to wrong one of its members, they would all run and pull down the offender's house until not a stone was left. The result of this terrorism was that the citizens either joined the club or took care to live in peace with its mem-

bers.* This was the state of affairs in a city devoted to the Church, but doubtless the Ghibellines, wherever they could, exercised a tyranny every whit as unchristian. The Guelfs, as we see, had one great advantage over the rival faction, since not only earthly but ghostly arms were wielded in their favour. To them the Pope's name, a name more awful six hundred years ago than now, was a tower of strength. Every Genoese crossbowman who plied his national weapon, every Milanese monk who donned chain-mail at the bidding of Montelongo, every Venetian sailor who embarked on the Apulian venture, knew that he was one of Heaven's own chosen champions. Paradise was his reward, if he fell fighting against an Emperor worse than any Paynim. When in the field, the patriotic Crusader was paid from the coffers of the Church; these had been filled with money drawn from far distant lands for the benefit of Christ's soldiers in Italy. But the Ghibellines had to put their trust in the arm of flesh, and in that alone. The thunders of the Lateran must have struck terror into many a pious partizan of the Empire, who strove hard to reconcile his duty to Cæsar with his duty to God. Still, several of the most esteemed Prelates would not forsake the Emperor, even after his excommunication. The type of this class is Nicholas, who ruled the Church of Reggio in Lombardy for more than thirty years; he could adapt himself to all men, being a priest with priests, a friar with friars, a knight with knights, and a baron with barons. His courteous manners, his lavish expendi-

* Salimbene. Charles of Anjou was the club's patron; it was set on foot after Parma had joined the Guelfs.

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ture, and his noble birth endeared him alike to the Imperial and the Papal Courts. He it was who built the Bishop's palace at Reggio; though Frederick had made him a present of the Imperial mansion there, reserving only the right of lodging in it. The Bishop was a good friend to the Franciscans and offered to install them in his own Cathedral, having first turned out the Canons; he threw his steward into a dungeon for cutting short the commons of bread meant for the brethren.* This instance proves that all the Imperial partizans were not abandoned men; though it was the practice to denounce as excommunicated every one who consorted with Frederick, a fact which perhaps accounts for the reckless wickedness which we remark in more than one of the Ghibelline chieftains. This very year the Pope ordered Eccelin to be excommunicated, after the Bishop of Treviso had lodged a complaint against that noble for seizing on Church property at Belluno. Eccelin was accordingly deprived of his lands, but he laughed the Papal sentence to scorn.† It was not until after this date that he began that frightful series of cruelties, which have branded his name with everlasting infamy. The upshot of the Crusade waged in the cause of religion was, that practical piety came in time to be altogether banished from the thoughts of the combatants. Still their language, if not their morals, was drawn from the best of sources. The phrases supplied by the Scriptures were used as engines in the war that was

* Salimbene, who introduces us to many other pious Ghibellines. His own bastard brother atoned for his Ghibelline politics by a pilgrimage to Compostella.

† Raynaldus.

now beginning to rage between the Holy Roman Empire and the Holy Roman Church; between the successor of Augustus, Constantine, and Charlemagne, and the successor of Peter, Gregory, and Hildebrand. Frederick reviled the Pope as a Pharisee who made religion the cloak for worldly ambition, while Gregory denounced the Emperor as a Sadducee who would believe in neither Resurrection, nor Angel, nor Spirit. Frederick in his state papers relies more especially on the New Testament, contrasting the lowly spirit of St. Peter and his yokefellows with the bloodthirsty fury of St. Peter's successor. Gregory on the other hand turns to the more warlike annals of the Old Testament, and appeals to the example of the Prophets who so unsparingly rebuked unrighteous Rulers. An Ehud or a Jael was again needed by the Church.

We may here draw a comparison between Italian parties in the Thirteenth and English parties in the Seventeenth Century. In Italy, as in England, loyalty was the badge of the one faction, religion of the other. The Ghibellines, like the Cavaliers, looked up to a Prince who was the model of good breeding, though by no means the model of good faith. Frederick was accused by his enemies of being a traitor to Christianity, just as Charles was afterwards taunted with betraying the cause of Protestantism. Each Monarch, by his personal habits, gave a pretext for the charge. The Arabs of Lucera, reinforced from Africa, were regarded by the Guelfs much as the Kernes brought over from Munster were regarded by the Puritans. This last named party, like Frederick's enemies, recruited their ranks by means of the drum ecclesiastic. The Dominican and Franciscan friars,

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revelling in Old Testament phraseology, were the forerunners of the Independent and Anabaptist preachers, who brought down the Crown of England. In both countries, the war was fertile in sieges. Brescia was to Italy, what Gloucester was to England, the turning-point of the whole struggle. The Hohenstaufen, like the Stuart, made many fruitless attempts at accommodation, which were always rejected by his enemies. Young Enzio, the most dashing leader of the day, was the prototype of Prince Rupert. At last the Guelfs, like the Parliamentarians, found that they could only triumph by calling in foreigners to their aid. As happened in our own country, the votaries of freedom employed a power, which first appearing in Italy as their servant, ended by becoming their master. But the appearance of this power does not fall within our limits.

The state papers already quoted show the fierce hatred with which Gregory and Frederick regarded each other. Old charges were raked up, and prophecies were revived or invented to cheer their respective partizans. The verses of Merlin, Abbot Joachim, and Michael Scott were in the mouths of all. At the outbreak of the war, some daring Ghibelline contrived to hang up in the Pope's own bedchamber the following lines, the production probably of one of Frederick's astrologers, long remembered in Italy,

> 'By stars, by flight of birds, by fate we see
> Of all the world one man shall hammer be.
> Rome staggering, through mazy errors led,
> Of all the world shall cease to be the head.'

Gregory was little moved by this presage of the

approaching downfall of his power. He retorted in a pithy couplet, addressed to the Emperor,

'The fates, the Scripture, and your sins foretell
Your doom; short life, and everlasting hell.' *

* M. Paris. The originals run thus; —

'Fata docent, stellæque monent, aviumque volatus;
Totius mundi malleus unus erit.
Roma diu titubans, variis erroribus acta,
Totius mundi desinet esse caput.'

'Fama refert, Scriptura docet, peccata loquuntur;
Quod tua vita brevis, pœna perennis erit.'

These lines were long remembered. I have seen parts of them worked up into a prophecy of the Fourteenth Century, where the second line is thus altered;

'Quod Fridericus malleus orbis erit.'

CHAPTER XIII.

A.D. 1239 — A.D. 1241.

'Romagna tua non è, e non fu mai,
Senza guerra ne' cuor de' suoi tiranni.'—DANTE, *Inferno*, 27.

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IN the month of June, 1239, Frederick for the first time carried the war into Romagna. This province, the daring spirit of which he knew by experience, became the principal theatre of the struggle for three successive years. He brought from Reggio an army made up of the various nations that remained true in their allegiance to him, and the Bolognese were the first to feel his vengeance. They had thrown a strong garrison into the Castle of Piumazzo, and had filled its deep moats with water. The best knights of Bologna manned the walls, and entertained no doubt of beating off the Emperor. Within a few days, however, he contrived to drain the water out of the moats, and to batter the towers of the Castle with his engines. It was set on fire and taken at the first onslaught. The greater part of the garrison perished in the flames or fell by the sword; almost 500 were taken prisoners. The lands of the Bolognese were ruthlessly laid waste and their trees were cut down.

Frederick, boasting that he had stripped Piumazzo of its plumes, sent a triumphant despatch to his friends in Lombardy, and promised them speedy succour. He then besieged Crevalcuore, another Bolognese

Castle, still stronger than the last, and surrounded with three moats. These were drained, and in a short time the garrison, which included many of the nobles of Bologna, were entreating the Emperor's mercy. Writing to his Lombard allies, he foretold the capture of the place within three days. Fire was applied as before; and his army took the Castle, so he says, in a moment and in the twinkling of an eye. This happened on the 14th of August. One thousand Romagnole prisoners were the fruit of the Campaign; these were distributed among the loyal cities in Lombardy.*

Being obliged himself to return into the North, Frederick left behind him his son Enzio, the King of Sardinia, as his legate in Central Italy, calling the youth the mirror of the Imperial person. He bestowed the power of the sword, and specially directed the attention of his lieutenant towards highway robberies. In all civil or criminal causes throughout Italy, an appeal was to lie to Enzio, at that time a mere boy. He had the power of making decrees, and of appointing guardians to minors. The young Legate was burdened with no scruples as to the domains of the Church, which he held to be within his jurisdiction. He soon made his way into the Anconitan March, and was therefore excommunicated with all his followers, later in the year. At the same time John Colonna, the most warlike of the Cardinals, was sent to command against Enzio.† The Emperor openly avowed his designs upon the districts of Ancona and Spoleto, absolving their inhabitants from the oaths they had sworn to the Church. He could not, he wrote,

* Chronicon. † Ric. San Germano.

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allow two such noble provinces to be separated any longer from the Empire. He had made one attempt to effect their re-annexation in 1228, but his deputies had been unable to keep their promises. Now, however, the appointment of Enzio, the Emperor's own son, ought to be regarded as a pledge that the provinces of Central Italy would never again be handed back to the Pope, if they at once frankly took the side of the Empire.

Such was the substance of Frederick's letters to the towns in the neighbourhood of Ancona and Spoleto. A special despatch was sent to Jesi, which had the honour of being his birth-place. The letter remains, a specimen of Imperial profanity and bad taste. 'The city, where our godlike mother gave us to the light, is ever rooted in the heart of Cæsar. Hence thou, Bethlehem, not the least city of the March, art among the chiefs of our race. For out of thee hath come a ruler, a Chief of the Roman Empire, who will rule and protect thy people. Arise then, our first Parent, and shake off the strange yoke.' Another letter he sent to Ravenna, sharply rebuking the citizens for their unexpected revolt. Let them atone for their robbery of his treasures, by taking the oath of allegiance to Enzio, who had power to absolve them from the consequences of their late misdeeds. The men of Ravenna, however, paid more respect to a despatch from the Pope, who confirmed them in their rebellion. Gregory moreover exhorted the Bolognese to do their utmost to succour Ravenna; her noble chief, Paul Traversaro, had effected a most useful diversion in the cause of the Church and freedom. The Pope's Vicar, James of Boncambio, roused his Bolognese countrymen to withstand

Enzio, whose feet were swift to shed blood. The King of Sardinia is described by an enemy as a handsome youth, of middle height, strong, brave, and honourable, the best of all the Imperial brood. He was the idol of his followers, fond of pleasure, very daring in war, and, like his sire, a composer of Italian poetry.* His verses, which have come down to us, show how amid the din of arms in the North he turned fondly to the Court of Messer and the broad plains of the Capitanata, where his heart dwelt day and night.† Macerata and Jesi seem to have been Enzio's chief strongholds. The Emperor threw open the University of Naples to all those inhabitants of Tuscany, the March, the Duchy of Spoleto, and even the Campagna, who should range themselves on the side of his son.

While Central Italy was being thus torn asunder between the young King and the Pope, Frederick had marched his army back to Lombardy. Affairs in that province were pretty equally balanced. On the one hand, Como had revolted from Milan and had joined the Ghibellines. The Emperor rejoiced at this accession to his strength, which opened a fresh road of communication with Germany; since Como commanded the St. Gothard pass, just as Verona commanded the Brenner. On the other hand, the Pavians under Lancia had been routed with great loss, upon their attempting to master the bridge at Piacenza.‡ Frederick promised them help, and mourned over the ravages committed by the Milanese on the lands of Pavia. He praised Lodi for its stout resistance to

* Salimbene.

† 'La dove è lo mio core notte e dia.' See Enzio's poems in the Parnaso Italiano.

‡ Chronicon.

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the Guelf plunderers, and congratulated it on having shaken off the yoke of Milan. It was in consequence deprived by Gregory of its Episcopal honours, and its Bishop died of grief three years later. It was excommunicated for cleaving to Frederick, and for having burnt a Minorite friar.* The Emperor heartily thanked Cremona for sending out her Carroccio on receipt of his orders. She and Vercelli were enjoined to make ready for an expedition against Milan. He hoped to be able to announce within a short time the destruction of that city, 'the head of treachery.'

During the whole of this eventful year, Milan had been making her preparations. Gregory of Montelongo, the Pope's Legate in Lombardy, had arrived in April. He was one of the ablest agents ever employed by Rome, never shrinking from the post of danger. His stirring policy often put fresh spirit into the drooping Guelfs, though his conduct showed that he was not very scrupulous on the score of honour or humanity. He gave no heed to the tears of the Imperial party, when they besought him to desist from ravaging their lands; he would hear of nothing but unconditional surrender.† His activity was the more remarkable, since he was tortured by the gout; he was notoriously unchaste. But this, as Salimbene says, was true of many of the secular clergy of the day who rose to posts of honour. However bad the morals of Montelongo might be, Rome could not afford, in such a crisis as the present, to be nice in the choice of her agents. This clerical warrior, on arriving at Milan, had caused all the citizens to assume the Cross, as though about to take

* Ughelli, for Lodi.

† M. Paris.

part in a holy war. He had given them two banners, on which were emblazoned the Cross and the Keys.* He found an able assistant in Brother Leo of Perego, the great Franciscan preacher. All the clergy and friars, a class very numerous at Milan, were ordered to take up arms in the cause of the Church. Remission of sins was offered to every man who would fight against the Emperor. Milan and Piacenza entered into a league with Genoa, and sent envoys to Rome. On the return of these men, they made the Guelfs swear never to make peace with Frederick without the consent of Gregory or his successors. They also engaged to pay such sums of money as the Pope might direct. All this time Montelongo and his followers were strengthening their positions, and were digging a trench to connect the Lambro with the Adda; this was to serve as their line of defence towards the South.

On the 21st of August, Frederick quitted Romagna, which he had been ravaging for two months, and returned to Parma.† Shortly afterwards his lieutenant, the Count of Chieti, defeated the Bolognese with great slaughter, on their attempting an incursion into the Modenese lands.‡ Frederick passed on to Cremona, whence he wrote to prepare his allies at Lodi and Como for his coming; he borrowed a large sum from three Roman merchants for his approaching Lombard campaign. This began on the 12th of September, when he set out from Lodi Vecchio, and threw several bridges over the Lambro. He crossed the stream at the head of an immense army of Germans, Arabs, and Italians, among whom were

* Chronicon. † Ibid. ‡ Ric. San Germano.

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the Marquesses of Montferrat and Malaspina. Such an army, as he himself says in writing to his son Conrad, had not been seen for a long time past. The Milanese, who had been employed in digging their great trench, fled to a distance of three miles on his advancing. Frederick burnt Melegnano and nineteen other towns of the district, thus avenging the wrongs of Pavia and Lodi. Meanwhile the townsmen of Como descended from the North, and carried off much booty, the property of their late masters. The Milanese quitted their homes at the Emperor's approach; fire and sword were unsparingly applied, and his only anxiety, as we see from his letters, seemed to be lest his enemies should give him the slip, and cheat him out of his expected victory. He urged Conrad to send him German soldiers as speedily as possible, now that Como, the key of the pass into Italy, was at last in the hands of the Ghibellines.

All this time, the Milanese were being inspirited by the fiery Montelongo. During a debate as to the plan of war to be adopted, Probo Incoardo, one of the chief citizens, advised his countrymen not to risk a battle. The Legate instantly charged him with cowardice; 'You have spoken consistently with your second name, not consistently with your first.' Otho of Mandello cried, 'The salvation of us Milanese has ever lain in our right hands; daring is the safest policy.' The plebeians, who were all sturdy Guelfs, declared; 'It is better to fall in war, than to behold the deaths of our dear ones.' They shifted their camp from Chiaravalle, their first post, on seeing Frederick make a flank movement. He was not opposed on crossing the Ticinello at the head of his

8000 knights, to whom the Guelfs could only oppose 5000.* CHAP. XIII. 1239–1241.

Galvano Fiamma is very full of the prowess of his countrymen at this perilous crisis. According to the bombastic account given by this chronicler, the Emperor employed the proscribed Ghibellines of Milan to point out to him the leading features of the country. He beheld the Carroccio of the city, hung with scarlet, surmounted with a golden Cross, and surrounded by the chief captains of the army. Frederick alarmed, asked; 'Will they destroy us?' The answer was; 'The arms of the Milanese are the hammer of the whole world.' When a league off, the burghers cried; 'To death, to death!' Ottobelo of Mariano, of the race of the giants, taller than any-one else by the shoulders upwards, routed a band of Saracens, and filled the trenches with the slain. Next day, the Cremonese advanced with their national standard; they might say, according to Fiamma; 'The Carroccio of the Milanese has entered our country more than twenty times, and our Carroccio is now for the first time entering their lands.' A German offered a general challenge to single combat; Fantono advanced from the other side, and soon sent the German flying back to his Kaiser's tent. Frederick asked Fantono; 'Good youth, are you weary of life? Were you forced to do this?' Fantono answered, 'This task was given to me as a favour, when more than a thousand sought it.' 'I count you all my prisoners,' said the Emperor. 'Patriotism and freedom will cause us to prevail against you,' was the rejoinder of Fantono, who was sent back to his

* Gal. Fiamma. Chronicon.

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countrymen, after receiving a fine horse. In the night the Milanese opened some sluices and flooded Frederick's camp; his men were fain to swim for their lives, and he himself, finding the stream come up to his loins, remarked; 'I think the Milanese carry fountains of water in their breasts.' He then removed his camp, by the advice of the proscribed Ghibellines. In the night, the enemy dug an enormous trench in his front, which they fortified with timber torn from their own houses. On the Germans attempting to force the new entrenchments, the Milanese pretended flight, entrapped the enemy into an ambuscade, and slew the flower of Pavia and Cremona. Many Ghibellines were drowned while struggling back through the Ticinello, which they had unwarily crossed. The Emperor, declaring that nothing was to be hoped from the flight of the Milanese, in vain ordered the trench to be drained.*

This Lombard account of the autumn Campaign of 1239 is evidently too highly coloured; but even the Ghibelline Chronicle makes it plain that Frederick's attempt upon Milan was a failure. In spite of his 8000 knights, his archers, and his crossbowmen, he had to retreat with the consciousness that no lasting impression had been made upon the enemy. He heard the truth, now and then, from those around him. Thus the Countess of Caserta upbraided him with folly for meddling with wars in Lombardy, when he had in his own Kingdom every good thing that could promote man's enjoyment. 'I know,

* Fiamma goes on to make some improbable statements about the Apulian nobles conspiring against the Emperor. The whole of his account is evidently much exaggerated, and is not confirmed by chroniclers of the middle of this Century.

Countess,' he answered, 'that you are right; but I have gone so far that now I cannot halt without shame; would that I had always followed your advice, for then I should not have fallen into so many calamities!' 'It will be worse for you,' she remarked, 'if you fall into greater ones.' 'I do not expect,' said he, 'to incur greater evils, but I hope to avenge myself on my foes.' The Countess answered, 'It is a poor way of avenging your wrongs by making them worse;' and to this end she quoted two Latin lines.*

He was losing ground in other provinces besides Lombardy. At this time, his vassal Raymond Berenger, the Count of Provence, broke out into rebellion and drove the Imperial Vicar from Arles. Frederick laid a complaint before King Louis of France, the Count's son-in-law, and thanked the burghers of Avignon for withstanding the rebel. The Count of Toulouse, on the other hand, sent messengers to the Imperial Court with assurances of his loyalty, promising to rise against the Pope and his abettors. Frederick rewarded Raymond with the County of Forcalquier, which he took from Raymond Berenger, and he exhorted his faithful vassal to stand firm against priestly insolence, of which both of them had had full experience. But an old enemy of the Empire had now appeared on the banks of the Rhone. The Bishop of Palestrina, whom Frederick probably hated more than any of the other pillars of the Church, had travelled disguised as a pilgrim from Rome to Genoa. One faithful attendant alone followed him, a young man named Theobald Visconti, who came from Piacenza.† This

* Salimbene. † Ric. San Germano. Vita Gregorii X.

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priest was long afterwards elected to the Papacy, of which he became the most brilliant ornament. When Pope, he was remarkable for his efforts to suppress the factions of Guelf and Ghibelline. Now, however, he put his name as witness to an agreement, whereby Raymond Berenger, Count of Provence, promised the Bishop of Palestrina to supply the Pope with a fixed contingent of knights and crossbowmen for the war against the Emperor. These soldiers were to be employed either on the Rhone or on the Po, as circumstances might demand. The Count's kinsman, William the Bishop of Valence, died about this time, much to the sorrow of King Henry of England, who had married his niece. Gregory had given this Prelate leave to hold the Bishopricks of Liege and Winchester, and had contemplated employing him to command against the Emperor; though William had distinguished himself on Frederick's side during the siege of Brescia, and was notorious as a man of blood. His powerful influence in England, France, and Savoy would have been most useful to the Papal cause; but his death at Viterbo, towards the end of October, put an end to all these schemes, and added to the Pope's perplexities.*

The greater part of October was spent by Frederick in laying waste the Milanese district. He encamped, by his own account, at the gates of the city and met with no serious opposition. Still he did not feel himself strong enough to besiege it. After sending Berthold the Margrave of Hohenburg, the only German who was henceforth much employed in the Italian wars, to Como as Captain of the people,

* M. Paris.

the Emperor marched Southward to Piacenza, which he calls in his letters 'the daughter of iniquity.' This city was in great danger, surrounded as she was on all sides by Ghibelline rivals, and having little hope of succour from Milan or Bologna. Lancia, who commanded the Piedmontese, threw a bridge of boats across the Po, and besieged a Castle garrisoned by 2000 Placentines. Lower down the stream, the Pavians attempted to make another bridge with forty galleys. The Emperor's archers lined the bank, shooting at the Placentine convoys of provisions. But the waters of the Po, swollen by rain which had lasted for five days, saved Piacenza. Owing to the bad weather, the Pavians were forced to shift their camp and to destroy their galleys and engines. The Emperor himself, after wasting a week, found himself constrained to abandon many of his waggons and machines.* The cost of the Lombard Campaign of 1239, the result of which had been nothing but burning and ravaging, was enormous. We are at this moment allowed a peep behind the scenes, since the scrap of Frederick's Registers, still preserved at Naples, opens with the autumn of this year. Thus we are enabled to pry into the Emperor's financial operations, which seem to have consisted in getting his forthcoming Apulian revenues discounted. He borrowed money from all quarters, and found many Roman, Cremonese, Parmesan, and Venetian merchants ready to supply his wants; the rate of interest which they exacted went sometimes so high as 60 per cent., and was usually at least 36. Besides this, he was always writing to the Officials of his Kingdom

* Chronicon.

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in the most urgent terms, ordering them to get in the taxes without delay and without respect of persons. New collectors were appointed, whose accounts were to be kept most strictly. A new tax on the exportation of provisions and certain animals was laid upon the provinces of the Sicilian realm. In Apulia the fifth part, in Calabria the seventh part of the price of each article sold to maritime traffickers was to go to the Crown. It is not surprising that the lieges grumbled at this absurd impost. 'We are loth that any should murmur,' writes the Emperor, 'especially since money is very welcome to us for the present business of Lombardy.' He ordered his Southern Officials to satisfy the demands of his Lombard bankers, who usually stipulated for repayment within at least three months after their loans had been advanced. He was most careful to keep faith with his creditors, and they seem to have had full confidence in him up to the end of his career. It was not in Lombardy alone that money was needed; part of the Apulian taxes were applied to the war in the Anconitan March. The Emperor ordered 10,000 ounces of gold to be paid over to Enzio in November, and the like sum to be sent to his knights in the Trevisan March. It was no light task to bring the money safe into Upper Italy; those entrusted with its conveyance were directed to use all caution. Sometimes the lenders, the merchants of the North, were willing to take Sicilian corn in exchange for their money. The Crown Officials, as we see by their master's letters, were on their guard against making payments without due warrant. Even when Enzio wrote to his neighbour the Justiciary of the Abruzzi, begging for all the money that could be got

from any quarter, the Official refused to send it, until he should have the Emperor's own orders. Andrew of Cicala was highly praised by his master for acting on his own responsibility and sending to the seat of war a reinforcement of knights, crossbowmen, and Saracens, besides all the money in his hands.

On the 7th of November, Frederick rode to Lodi, where he held a Parliament of his chiefs. We find the Bishops of Turin and Reggio, and Gebhard von Arnstein, in his train at this time. After receiving many envoys, he passed on to Cremona. The loans from the merchants now become more and more numerous, a plain proof that Frederick was paying off a great part of his army. The Germans evidently had no idea of serving without a recompence. The whole amount of the money borrowed by the Emperor this season, of which we have any account, comes to almost 10,000 ounces of gold. A large proportion of this sum was raised in *grossi* of the Venetian coinage, one pound of which on the average was equal to four ounces.

At Cremona the Emperor found many knights of Milan, Piacenza, and Crema, who had lain in prison ever since the battle of Cortenuova. He sent for 120 of their comrades, who had been the victims of the treachery of Bergamo, and he conveyed the whole party in chains to Parma. The hostages, whom he had taken from the Trevisan March at the beginning of this year, were also forced to follow his steps. Early in December, Frederick bade a long farewell to Lombardy, the theatre of four fruitless campaigns, and crossed the Apennines by the pass of Monbardone. He gave up his former intention, expressed in his letters, of visiting the Anconitan March. The gallant Lombard

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knights, whom he was leading away into captivity, took their last look down into the rich valley of the Po; few of them ever saw it again. The Emperor added to their number sixty hostages from Pontremoli, through which he passed; the town had given him grounds for uneasiness. The Bishop of Luna was loaded with chains and packed off with the other prisoners. The Marquess of Pallavicino was named Vicar in this diocese, and proved himself a dangerous neighbour to Genoa. After making these arrangements, and vowing to return to Lombardy in May, Frederick passed on through Sarzana to Pisa. From this harbour he shipped off all his prisoners and hostages, the flower of Northern Italy.* The unhappy men were carried to Naples by Nicholas Spinola, Frederick's Admiral, and were then handed over to the Justiciaries of the various provinces, among which they were to be divided. The number of captives amounted to 293, almost all of whom came either from Milan or from Piacenza. Among them were the two Counts of Cortenuova, and several members of the Mandello, Pietrasanta, and Crivelli families. More than a quarter of their number were distributed among the nobles of the Abruzzi, a mountainous district which must have bristled with feudal strongholds. Only seven were sent to Calabria, and only three to Sicily. A long list of their proposed gaolers was drawn up by Frederick, and is invaluable as a record of the old Apulian nobility. The Acquaviva, Capece, Filangieri, and Loria families appear, but we search in vain for any trace of the name Caraffa, so famous in after times. Each of the nobles had at

* Chronicon. Vita Gregorii.

least one Lombard captive quartered upon him, for whom he was answerable. Ladies were not exempted from this burden. Some of the greater nobles, such as the Count of Acerra, the Count of Caserta, the Count of Chieti, and the Lords of Montenero, were each entrusted with two or three prisoners. The Paduan hostages, sixty-three of whom lived to reach Apulia, were distributed among the towns, such as Trani, Melfi, and Barletta. The Emperor ordered an Inspector of Prisons to be appointed, who was to go round once a month and look to the safe custody of the captives and the quality of their food. Some of them were afterwards brought to Frederick's court, by his desire, well guarded and mounted on common horses. Their raiment and victuals were attended to, by his special orders. Rinaldo, the youthful son of Azzo of Este, was consoled in his Apulian prison by the attentions of the ladies in the neighbourhood; he himself never returned home, but he left a bastard, named Obizzo, whom the Pope and Emperor afterwards legitimated, and through whom the House of Este traced its descent.* Rinaldo neglected his young wife, the daughter of Alberic of Romano; she was kept under the charge of James Capece, who gave her two of his kinswomen for her companions, and appointed a eunuch to guard them. Frederick ordered their charges to be defrayed by his tax-gatherers. He even interested himself in the lady's dress, and allowed her, as a great favour, to have an interview with a stranger who came to see her, though her keepers were enjoined to hear all that was said. Another captive, Abdul Aziz, the nephew

* Mon. Patavinus.

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of the King of Tunis, the youth about whose baptism the Papacy had been so anxious, was kept among his co-religionists at Lucera; he was provided with a palfrey which was to cost six ounces of gold, with a scarlet robe, and with other kinds of raiment for himself and his four attendants.*

The Emperor had ordered many of his Apulian servants to meet him at Pisa, with jewels, silks, falcons, leopards, and other much-prized possessions. This city was to Tuscany, what Cremona was to Lombardy, the great stronghold of Ghibellinism. At Pisa Frederick kept his Christmas, and scandalized some of the burghers by ordering mass to be said before him in the noble Cathedral on Christmas day. Some apostate priests obeyed his orders, and the city was placed under an interdict by the Pope.† The Emperor had been called to Pisa by the citizens, in order that he might put an end to the struggles then going on between the Conti and the Visconti. He saw the importance of maintaining peace, and harangued them thus. 'There are many examples in history,' said he, 'which prove that states are ruined only by their own divisions. You must live like good citizens and think only of the good of the Commonwealth. If you disobey, I shall be the first to overthrow your state; not from hatred, but because I do not wish to see it fall into the hands of others.' He then proceeded, with the consent of the Pisans, to change some of their laws, enacting more severe statutes against all who broke the peace. While at Pisa, he ordered the Guelfs to be driven out of Pistoia, Vol-

* See Frederick's letters for 1239 and 1240.

† Vita Gregorii.

terra, and San Miniato; even the brothers of loyalists were not spared.*

Thus ended the famous year 1239. Frederick was consoled for his ill-success in Lombardy by the obedience of Tuscany, and by the invitations that came to him from the subjects of the Papacy. So fair were his prospects in Central Italy, that he changed his plans. Instead of sailing from Pisa to the shores of the Kingdom, he resolved to march upon Rome.† He was at his strong fortress of San Miniato on New year's day, which he left for Siena. His letters, written at this time, are full of satisfaction at the loyalty displayed by the Tuscans. 'We have found every state, county, and castle most eager to obey our orders; the folk were burning to behold us; we have established peace everywhere; one and all are willingly placing themselves under the hand of one Lord.' Even Florence, as far as we know, did not utter a murmur. The Emperor made Pandulf of Fasanella, one of his Apulian comrades, Captain General in Tuscany, with the power of the sword and full authority over all causes civil and criminal. 'We have from experience full trust in his honour and loyalty,' thus Frederick writes, ignorant of the future. Another Apulian, Count Walter of Manupello, was Vicar of the Empire in Romagna. During all this time, the Emperor was borrowing as much money as he could get from the merchants of Pisa and Siena, at the usual ruinous rate of interest. His registers inform us that the loans contracted by him between September, 1239, and May, 1240, amounted to more than 24,000 ounces of gold. This is but a

* Croniche di Pisa. † Vita Gregorii.

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sample of the sums spent by Frederick on his wars in the North. All these loans, together with the enormous interest exacted by the merchants, were repaid out of the taxes wrung from Sicily and Apulia. The Kingdom, linked by an unhappy fate to the Empire, had to defray the whole cost of the struggle, and there is no reason to doubt that this system went on up to the time of Frederick's death.

He passed a few days in the fair town of Arezzo. He despoiled the Bishop of his goods, which rendered necessary an order from the Pope, that the clergy should supply the wants of their plundered overseer. The Prelate, whose ultimate fate is one of the saddest features of the age, was appointed by Gregory to be Governor of the Anconitan March, where Enzio was now making alarming progress, being constantly reinforced from the neighbouring parts of Apulia. The Emperor marched on to Cortona, the abode of his friend Elias. His direct way to the South would have lain by Lake Thrasymene and the valley of the Tiber; but this road was barred. Perugia, perched upon her lofty hill, was a zealous champion of the Papacy. Gregory had passed much of his time there, and had spent much money upon the city. Frederick did not feel himself strong enough to besiege a place, for the defence of which Nature had done so much. He was fain to return to Arezzo, which had called him in out of hatred to Perugia, just as Siena had invited him out of hatred to Florence.* He made a long circuit by Citta di Castello, Gubbio, and Nocera, keeping close to the Apennine chain. On the 1st of February, he once more regained the main road at Foligno. This

* Vita Gregorii.

city received him with great rejoicings, for she regarded him as her nursling. Gregory's biographer accuses Foligno of the blackest ingratitude to the Pope, and is inclined to derive her name from the Latin word for soot. However, if Perugia took the side of the Church, it might safely be foretold that her neighbour would become the partizan of the Empire. Frederick had despatched a letter earlier in the year to Foligno, assuring the townsmen of his peculiar favour towards them, since, as he says, 'It was in Fulginium that our childhood began to be refulgent.' Thomas of Acerra, to whom the Emperor had married one of his many daughters, had been sent to command in this loyal garrison. All was therefore ready for Frederick's army. He led it up to the walls of Assisi, which, like Perugia, was loyal to the Papacy, as became the city of St. Francis. Todi and Spoleto were equally firm in their Guelf politics, as Gregory thankfully acknowledged; all the ravages, inflicted on their lands by the Ghibellines, could not shake their steadfastness.* Frederick made Foligno his head-quarters for more than a week, since it was a good central position, commanding many of the great Italian high roads. He assembled a Parliament in the Cathedral of the town; it was attended by King Enzio and by the envoys of several cities. Peter de Vinea stood by the side of the Emperor and caused all true liegemen of the Empire to swear to the observance of peace among themselves.

By this time, provisions were running short at Foligno. Frederick had meant to return to his Kingdom by the pass of Antrodoco; to that fortress all

* Vita Gregorii.

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the money in the hands of his officials had been brought, according to his orders. But an invitation from Viterbo once more changed his plans. Gregory's biographer pours out the vials of his wrath upon this city, calling it 'a hotbed of heresy, a field of blood, a cave of robbers, and a house of adulterers.' Viterbo, as he says, forgot that the Pope had made it his home, and had spent 40,000 marks in its quarrel. The Emperor accordingly marched Westward, after sending off his consort into Apulia under the care of the the Archbishop of Palermo.* The Castle at Naples was made ready for her residence, and James Capece, the gaoler of Alberic's daughter, was appointed her guardian. Frederick left James of Morra to act as his Captain in the Duchy of Spoleto, ordering the Justiciary of the Abruzzi to furnish James with eight knights and two hundred men at arms, and to promise them good pay. Care was to be taken that these soldiers should not be men who had been in the rebel army of the year 1229. The Ghibelline host crossed the Tiber near Orte, and reached Viterbo about the middle of February.

This city had long been prepared for the approach of her old champion. He had written to remind the burghers, how in 1234 Augustus had donned helmet and cuirass in their behalf, in spite of hot sun, dusty roads, and unhealthy season, had thrown open his treasury to supply their wants, and had brought a German army to defend them, while their pretended friend the Pope was only feeding them with words. Now was the time to show their gratitude; let them prepare the way of their Lord and make his paths

* Ric. San Germano.

straight; Cæsar, though awful to rebels, would show himself mild to Viterbo. After his arrival, he put forth a circular detailing his happy progress through Central Italy. 'One and all at Viterbo were longing for the day of our coming. All the cities of the Maritima up to the gates of Rome have welcomed the revived authority of the Empire. We had scarcely messengers enough to receive the allegiance of so many states. Our son the King of Sardinia will soon have the whole of the Anconitan March in his power. One thing alone remains, that the Roman people shall hail our victorious Eagles, when we enter the City.' To Rome he accordingly sent an envoy with a flattering letter, demanding the presence of four Roman ambassadors, whom he named; these were Napoleon Gaetani, John of Poli, Otho Frangipane, and Angelo Malebranca.

Never was the Pope's authority in greater danger. Rome seemed to be the one spot which remained to St. Peter. All the country between it and Bologna, except a very few towns, was now under the Imperial sway. Tivoli, which may be seen from the walls of the Eternal City, had been active on the Ghibelline side, and had been honoured with a letter of thanks from Frederick. Even Rome itself was not to be depended upon. In the previous year, the Ghibellines within its walls had been unusually uproarious. On the eve of the Assumption, the people according to an old custom were carrying Christ's image through the streets. Some of Frederick's partizans uttered blasphemies and cried; 'Behold the Saviour! let the Emperor come!' whereupon a tower belonging to the Frangipani ('a frangible tower,' says the Papal Annalist) fell upon the impious throng and crushed

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them, although this very building had been lately repaired by the Emperor's bounty.* In the present year, the Roman mob were equally rebellious to their spiritual Lord. They shouted, upon the arrival of Frederick's envoys; 'Let him come; let the Emperor come and receive the homage of his city!'†

The danger was most alarming. Even Rome was false to St. Peter. Many of the Cardinals quitted the side of the Pope, aghast at his headstrong policy; Robert de Summercote was one of the few who remained faithful.‡ It seemed likely that Frederick would soon be able to fulfil his blasphemous threats, to turn the altar of St. Peter's into a manger for horses, to give that which was holy to Saracen dogs, to prostitute the mistress of Christian nations, and to make the Pope wear ashes instead of a Crown.§ A Comet, which appeared this month, seemed to forebode the worst.‖ But the Pope was equal to the crisis. All was subdued, save the stubborn soul of Gregory. Alarmed at the shouts of his unruly subjects, he brought forth the holiest relics of his Church, the heads of St. Peter and St. Paul and the wood of the True Cross. From the Lateran to St. Peter's he walked in procession, at the head of the Cardinals who remained true, saying to the people; 'I can do no more than any other man; but here are the relics which make your city an object of veneration.' He pulled the Crown off his own brows, and placed it upon the relics, crying; 'Do you, Saints, defend Rome, if the men of Rome will not defend it!' The right chord was

* Vita Gregorii. † Chronicon. ‡ M. Paris.
§ Vita Gregorii. ‖ Ric. San Germano.

touched; the people were brought round in an instant. A sudden reaction set in; the greater part of the Romans hastened to take the Cross from the hands of the Pope, and to oppose their late idol, the Emperor.* Gregory himself, as his letter bears witness, was amazed at the marvellous change wrought on this eventful day, the 22nd of February. 'Frederick,' he wrote, 'pays more regard to the profane apostates Elias and Henry,† than to the Keys of Peter. He has polluted the divine rites, which he has forced the ministers of the Church to celebrate in his presence. He is wresting from her the Patrimony of St. Peter, which he is bound by oath to defend. He is thirsting for our blood and for that of our brethren, as his intercepted letters show.' The Pope then describes the sudden revolution wrought by the appearance of the relics, saying that he chose to put his trust in them rather than in worldly allies. 'God so changed the hearts of the Romans, that boys, old men, and women hastened to take the Cross from our hand and to place it on their shoulders. The very men, who had been bribed to rise against us, were the first to take the Cross. Let all then assume it, since even women have done so, against the true forerunner of Antichrist. Let the crafty Herod be removed, that Rachel may not again weep for her children!'

This device of the Pope's must have been a severe blow to Frederick, who now found himself unable to end the war by taking Rome, as he had hoped. He affected to make light of the new Crusade, saying

* Chronicon. Vita Gregorii.

† It is not known who this Henry was.

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in his letters that the Papal manœuvres had prevailed on a few boys, old women, and hirelings to assume the cross against him. Having taken possession of Toscanella, Sutri, Civita Castellana, Corneto, Montefiascone, and other places, some of which he visited from Viterbo, he prepared for his departure. He is said to have practised great cruelty upon the Pope's Crusaders, ordering all prisoners who bore the Cross to be put to death. Some had their brows branded with the mark of the Keys instead of the Cross, others were mutilated. One priest chose to die at the stake rather than divest himself of the holy emblem, and sang the Te Deum with his dying breath, which failed him at the versicle treating of 'the noble Army of Martyrs.'* But all these cruelties were of no avail. The Emperor had talked, early in February, of looking in upon the Pope at his own Palace of Anagni,† and had laughed to scorn the peaceful ideas of the Archbishop of Messina, who had thought it possible at that time to bring about a reconciliation between the two powers. But in the middle of March, the Emperor found himself obliged to retire into his Kingdom, and to leave the conquest of Rome unachieved, after borrowing and wasting immense sums of money. He bade Rinaldo of Acquaviva hasten to Viterbo with ten knights from the Abruzzi, appointing him Captain of the city. The Count of Chieti was also left there with four hundred knights; a troublesome charge, as it proved, for that gallant soldier. Frederick found Terni and Spoleto rebellious; he therefore ordered any of their

* Vita Gregorii.

† Ut domum suam de Anagniâ possimus cominus intueri.

citizens who might be residing in his Kingdom to be seized and imprisoned, unless they were students. On the 15th of March, the day upon which he left Viterbo, he addressed a long manifesto to his English brother-in-law, in which he went over all the old grounds of his quarrel with the Pope. A copy of this he sent to the Germans, adding; 'Arise and defend our Empire, whereby you hold the monarchy of the world; which this present Pope has tried to take from you, looking upon it as his own and offering it to foreign kings. We are ready to bear the burden, for we owe more to the Empire than our predecessors did, since you preferred us and our sons, while yet in our boyhood, to other Princes. For you we expose our person and open our Sicilian treasury, as if we thought it an honour to live and die for the exaltation of the Roman name and the German sway.'

Frederick left Viterbo by way of Orte; he avoided Narni and marched up the romantic pass of Antrodoco. Thus he once more entered the boundaries of his beloved Kingdom, after a long absence of five years. He advanced by Pescara to Foggia, whither he had summoned his Officials to give an account of their stewardship. It is hard to imagine a greater contrast, than the condition of the Kingdom as distinguished from that of the country claimed by the Pope as his own. South of the Tronto private wars were unknown, the cities were free from factions, peace and order were preserved, while a systematic and crushing taxation weighed upon all alike. North of the Tronto, wars were being constantly waged beween neighbouring cities, the inhabitants were divided between the two great parties, but the burdens

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imposed by the Papal government were light, and taxation was almost nominal. A Prince of the Church was occasionally sent down into the outlying provinces to represent Gregory; thus Colonna was now commanding against King Enzio in the March; and a still more famous Cardinal, Sinibald Fiesco, was this year entrusted with the duty of transferring the Episcopal See from Osimo, a Ghibelline stronghold, to faithful Recanati.* These outlying provinces Frederick had marked for his own; it was the dream of his life at this time to reannex Spoleto and Ancona, which, as he thought, had been unjustly separated from the Empire.

He had much to hear upon his arrival in Apulia. Ever since his departure in 1235, the January collection of taxes had been enforced. The attention of his lieutenants had been chiefly directed to the building or destruction of Castles; and they were repeatedly summoned into the North to report upon the state of the Kingdom. The Archbishops of Palermo, Messina, and Capua, and the Bishop of Ravello, were entrusted with the charge of ecclesiastical affairs; and the election of an Abbot of Cassino was made under their direction, after Thaddeus of Sessa had carefully examined into the past life of the candidate, inquiring particularly into his conduct during 1229, the year of the rebellion. The Pope, of course, was unwilling to ratify an election which he thought uncanonical. All parties however agreed in the choice of an Abbot, just before the storm of 1239 broke forth. This event played great havoc with the time-honoured foundation of Monte Cassino.

* Raynaldus for 1240.

The Emperor established one of his garrisons in that strong position. Its peaceful inhabitants were driven out to make room for soldiers, and this was more than once repeated, until only eight monks were left.* Great was the indignation at Rome, when the news came, that St. Benedict's resting-place was in the hands of a lawless soldiery. It was said that the gold and silver vessels of the altar were put to the vilest uses, that the Church was turned into a brothel, and that hymns of praise were replaced by foul garrison ditties. It was further reported that a miraculous judgment had been witnessed; for a soldier, who had bespattered a monk with filth, had been instantly smitten with leprosy. Similar tales were doubtless current all over the Kingdom. The Biographer of Pope Gregory gives a long list of spoliations committed on various Churches both in Sicily and on the mainland. The revenues of Bishopricks were seized, and were used to reward Frederick's partizans at Rome, such as the Frangipani.† The Archbishop of Amalfi died about this time; the Emperor conferred its benefices and kept its revenues in his own hands; and this state of things lasted for fifteen years.‡ Many Prelates were banished and died in beggary. An Archbishop of Naples breathed his last in prison. The Dean of Melazzo was drowned; the Sub-deacon of Messina was burnt alive. The kinsmen of these clerical victims seldom escaped.§ Some men who uttered rash speeches against the Emperor were denounced by name; the boldest of these seem to have been a Canon at Sulmona.

* Ric. San Germano.
† See the Regesta for 1239.
‡ Chron. Arch. Amalf.
§ Vita Gregorii.

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The Church of Monte Cassino however was peculiarly favoured, since Frederick exempted it from paying the tax exacted from all other Churches in the Kingdom. But it was bound to provide half the supplies required for its garrison of a hundred men at arms, the Royal Treasury providing the other half. The tenants of the Monastery were sorely harassed by being made to cut wood and convey it with their oxen, in order to furnish new warlike engines, which were called Ladies, Mangonels, and Biddæ. The Castle at Naples was garrisoned by ten knights, sixty crossbowmen, and a hundred and forty men at arms. As soon as the Emperor heard of his excommunication, he recalled his subjects from the Papal Court, and ordered the Bishops of Teano, Caleno, Venafro, and Aquino to be banished. The like fate befell the Bishop of Fondi later in the year, whose goods were confiscated. The Bishops of St. Agata and Calvi were faithful to the Crown, and were employed on a fruitless mission to Rome in June, 1239. Stricter measures were adopted in that very month. Frederick ordered all Dominicans and Franciscans of Lombard origin to leave the Kingdom, and their brethren were to give security for future good behaviour. The Franciscans were forbidden to build new houses at Palermo. All Barons and Knights who had ever taken the Papal side were ordered off to Lombardy, there to serve under their master's eye. All the clergy were to be taxed according to their means, and the goods of those who did not quit Rome instantly were to be confiscated. A harsh letter came from the Emperor, directed against the Bishop of Caiazzo, who was harbouring clerical rebels. A police force was orga-

nized, to prevent Papal briefs from being brought into the Kingdom; the bearer of these was to be forced to confess his abettors, and was then to be hanged along with his accomplices, even should they prove to be clergymen. Night-watchers were appointed at Capua, which was near the border.* The Emperor wrote very angrily, on hearing that Richard of Isa had dared to apply to Rome on behalf of his son John, and had brought Papal letters to the Bishop of Caserta, demanding a Canonry for the youth. The Canon expectant and his father were both doomed to imprisonment. John had aggravated his offence by remaining at the Papal Court, after the Emperor's prohibition. The Preceptor of the Templars in Italy was rebuked for allowing his knights to collect money for the Pope. All Sicilian subjects who wore forbidden arms or excited sedition were at once thrown into prison. Those who had defrauded the Crown were usually allowed to compound for a certain sum of ready money, which was then much wanted. All the Apulian nobles who owed military service were summoned into the North where the war was raging, and the money collected by the tax-gatherers was sent thither under the escort of these knights.† One of them, Walter of Polito, an old rebel, fled from the Imperial camp at Lodi without leave. Frederick ordered the Justiciary of the Abruzzi to seize upon the Castles of the runaway, and upon those of his kinsman Gentile, who was then expiating sundry misdeeds in a Lombard prison. The like punishment was to be inflicted upon Gilbert of Bairano, who had sailed

* Ric. San Germano. † Ibid.

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home from Palestine without the leave of Frederick's Marshal.

In this year, the Pilgrims after many postponements started for the Holy Land under the King of Navarre and Count Amaury de Montfort The Emperor, though he ordered them to be courteously entertained, was not disposed to prefer the weal of Palestine to his wars in Italy. He therefore forbade his subjects in the South to sell war-horses to the Crusaders who were eager to buy them; but other animals were allowed to be sold, and Frederick specially authorized the exportation of wine and provisions for the use of the army of the Lord. Some of the Crusaders were driven by storms back to Trapani; others were kept by bad weather at Messina; the Emperor, fearing that they might be overreached by his good subjects, appointed Catapans to preside over the exchange of money and the markets. The arms of the Pilgrims were taken from them during their stay, and were kept in the Royal store-houses. Twenty wild boars, caught in Frederick's forests, were bestowed upon these pious strangers.

The Emperor, as we see by his letters sent from Lombardy, looked with special interest to the well-being of his garrisons. An Inspector of those in the Abruzzi was appointed, who had full power to remove heedless Castellans. Aware of the importance of the pass of Antrodoco, Frederick had ordered Cicala, the Captain of the Kingdom, to get a certain Abbot into his power, and then to destroy the Castles held by that Ecclesiastic, which commanded the pass; all this was to be done without creating scandal. Cicala could not even send for his wife without asking for his Sovereign's leave. The soldiers, who garri-

soned the various Castles, were to be taken from a remote province, the better to insure their trustworthiness. Those who had been up in arms in the days of John de Brienne were banished from the Kingdom on the slightest suspicion. The times were dangerous, and traitors could expect no mercy. All intercourse with Benevento was forbidden to the surrounding inhabitants, in the hope of starving out 'that rock of offence to the Kingdom.' The old rebels of Fondi and Molise were carefully watched. Towards the end of 1239, an awful doom was inflicted upon San Angelo, a rebellious town in the Abruzzi, and probably a nest of brigands. The men in it were either hanged, mutilated, or distributed into three distinct hamlets; their old home was burnt, and the place was condemned to everlasting desolation by the Justiciary. The Genoese being now in arms against Frederick, the Stratigot of Messina was charged to lock up some of them who had created a riot in the Piazza, and care was taken to ascertain whether they came into the Kingdom as traders or as spies. Their Ghibelline countryman, Nicholas Spinola, was made Admiral of the Realm for life, and his powers were defined. Men were pressed for Enzio's service in Sardinia. His knights in the March were so poorly paid, that they were driven to pledge their horses and arms, and the Emperor sent 5000 ounces of gold to relieve them. Enzio had engaged the Castle of Arquata on the border to surrender, unless it should be succoured within a month; but the inhabitants of the town had plundered the fortress and pulled it down; Frederick ordered an example to be made of them. Raynald, the old Duke of Spoleto, was at this time

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lurking about on the borders of the Kingdom, of which he had once been Viceroy. Imperial vengeance threatened with the halter any subject who should hold intercourse with the outlaw. In spite of this, we find that men were bold enough to send him presents. His brother Berthold was soon afterwards restored to his former master's favour.

Some traffic with the Pope's country however was advantageous to Frederick. He bade one of his Justiciaries hold an interview with the banished Bishop of Gaeta, who was to be lured from the frontier town of Terracina. That Prelate had in his possession some papers, which were thought to be of great importance to the Imperial Court. When Frederick was bearing down on Rome from the North, he organized a Southern expedition into the Campagna, to be led by Pandulf of Aquino. But the men of the Campagna were faithful to Pope Gregory; all traffic with that district was therefore stopped, and its inhabitants were seized, if found in the Kingdom. Frederick asked his Captain, Andrew of Cicala, if there was any chance of setting fire to the trebuchets and other machines, which were being made in the Papal Castles. 'We are pleased,' he wrote, 'at the plan for seizing Matthias, the Pope's nephew; and when the business is brought to an end, we shall be still more pleased.' He made his Kingdom the basis of many an attack upon the the Church, while he himself was in the North. He asked, if a good bargain could not be made for getting a Castle between Rieti and Spoleto into his hands. Its owners were to have fair words given them, if nothing else. Rieti had been the residence of the Pope, who had lately quitted it for Terni,

which he found more healthy.* The Emperor wrote that any money spent in bringing over Rieti to his side would be well bestowed. He sent persons to Rome, who were charged to rebuild the fallen houses of the Frangipani and others of his party. He had lost a subject at the Papal Court in September, 1239; Thomas of Capua, one of the most learned of the Cardinals, died in that month at Anagni. All hopes of mediation seemed to be at an end in November, when Gregory confirmed the excommunication against the Emperor.†

Such was the state of affairs in Southern Italy, when Frederick rode up the pass of Antrodoco in the middle of March, at the head of his Apulian cavaliers, the conquerors of Cortenuova. He had sent on before him some Ghibelline knights from Lombardy under Henry of Morra, with instructions for their maintenance until they should reach Foggia. He soon followed them, and went on to Salpi, one of the towns which the Lion of St. Mark had bespoken for its prey. At Foggia Frederick held a grand Parliament on Palm Sunday, the 8th of April, to which he had summoned all the Justiciaries of the eleven provinces of the Realm, the Secretaries of the chief cities, and two burgesses from each of forty-seven towns, which he named. No record of the proceedings has come down to us; but we may fairly conjecture that the Emperor poured forth much abuse of the Pharisee at Rome, enlarged much on the honour conferred upon Sicily by her present

* Vita Gregorii.

† These details, as to the state of the Kingdom during Frederick's absence, are taken from his Regesta and from Richard of San Germano.

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Ruler, and demanded more money for the wars in Lombardy and Romagna. Indeed, he had come into the Kingdom for the purpose of replenishing his coffers. The Germans bore no love to the tax-gatherer; the Ghibellines of Northern Italy were ready enough to fight, but were not equally willing to pay; so almost the whole of the financial burden was thrown upon Sicily. Money was the Emperor's great want; each Justiciary was ordered to bring all he could collect, and to allow no further delays in making payment. No abatement was to be suffered in the sums collected. The town of Sessa (it is a solitary instance) was excused a hundred ounces of gold, perhaps at the intercession of Thaddeus. A Saracen of the name of Othman was set free on his offering to pay fifty ounces. The clergy were called upon to disburse as much as they had done in the year before; the revenues of those who would not quit the Roman Court were turned to account. Officials were forced to make good all arrears; 'we order our lieges,' says Frederick, 'to be upheld in their rights; it is but fair that we should not be robbed of our own rights.' One unhappy wight, who had paltered with the Ministers about a treasure of silver which he was conjectured to have found, was to be put to the torture, until he should confess the whole truth. Another, a Professor of Law, came to Frederick with a tale of buried treasure near Agosta; he was allowed to dig for it at his own cost, but two respectable persons were to overlook his toils on behalf of the Court, 'that they might see the beginning and end of the matter.' More money was made by sending the Royal ships laden with Sicilian corn to the Barbary coasts, where there was a dearth. Others

were sent to Filangieri, Frederick's Marshal in Syria. Repairs were ordered in the sea-beaten Castle of Otranto, and in those of Bari and Trani. The Admiral, who had been specially summoned to Court, was displaying great activity; he was directed to be on the look-out for all enemies who might arrive in the Kingdom with treasonable correspondence from beyond sea. Large stores of biscuit were laid in at the seaports. Frederick ordered thirty-three knights, whom he named, to receive their pay, which had been in arrear for two months; these men had employed more than two hundred horses in the Imperial service. The whole of the land was in a ferment of activity.

His housekeeping at Foggia, where the Parliament met, was on a Royal scale; he sent to Messina for 5000 sheep and 1000 cows, part of his own stock; he also wrote for a quantity of cheese. At the same time he was carrying on various operations of war; he ordered off two hundred men at arms to garrison his Castles in the neighbourhood of Luna and Pontremoli; their pay was to be a quarter of an ounce of gold per month to each man. This bait does not seem to have taken; for the Emperor thus instructs his Justiciary; 'If volunteers cannot be found, then do the best you can; but despatch the men at any rate, as we have ordered.' He also sent sixty soldiers into Sardinia. This system of pressing was often adopted, and Frederick's Castles were repaired by forced labour. In April, Rocca di Alberico in the Abruzzi was held by a rebel and was blockaded by the Emperor's soldiers; the siege lasted the whole month, the Justiciary having been slow in sending a machine called a Blida, together with the

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apparatus required for throwing stones. Frederick sternly chid this Official for his frivolous subterfuges, and ordered the engine to be sent from the Castle of Antrodoco.

Amidst all these preparations for war, we catch every now and then a glimpse of the arts of peace. The Emperor had had some statues brought by sea to Naples; it is highly probable that these came from Pisa, the cradle of Italian sculpture. He ordered his stone treasures to be carried carefully on the necks of men to his Palace at Lucera. One of the great works of antiquity engaged his attention; the pipes which carried off the water from Lake Fucino stood much in need of opening and cleaning, owing to age and unworkmanlike repairs; the inhabitants of the district complained, and Frederick ordered the superfluous water of the lake to be drained off 'to the glory of his name and to the profit of his lieges.'

Other works were not equally favoured. He ordered the Franciscan convent near the harbour of Palermo to be pulled down, and forbade it to be rebuilt. He wrote to the burghers of that city, whose loyalty he highly praised, assuring them that his bodily health was good, and that he was refreshing his weary limbs with the delightful rest of his Kingdom, although looking forward to another campaign against the rebels in Northern Italy. He once more appointed Andrew of Cicala and Roger of Amici Captains over the realm during his absence, laying down many rules for their guidance. He ordered his various Ministers at Court to hand in their accounts. But now the happy days, which he had spent at Foggia and Lucera with his falcons and

leopards, were drawing to an end. The war in the North had been carried on without a moment's cessation during his absence, of which fact envoys from Pavia and Lodi had come to remind him. Late in May we find Frederick at Capua, where his army was to assemble, and where he had invited the Archbishops of Naples and Brindisi to meet him. He ravaged the lands of Benevento, the siege of which was to be prosecuted in his absence. The eighth of June had been appointed for the review of his troops. Each province was to send its picked contingent, the whole amounting to about two hundred and fifty knights, few of whom however brought their own harness. Each was allowed ten ounces of gold for two months' pay. The whole army marched by Teano to San Germano, where it halted for six days. Frederick was now about to enter the Campagna, the only province belonging to Rome which was heartily opposed to the claims of the Empire. He had long before forbidden all intercourse between this district and the Kingdom, and had been very angry on hearing that some of his subjects had bartered goats and corn for salt, which might be had cheap in the Papal dominions.* 'Neither silver, nor gold, nor suffering,' says Gregory's biographer, 'could drive the Campagna to forsake the laws of its Father.' Certain it is that Frederick did not enter it; he himself says in a letter that he refrained from invading it out of reverence to God and the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, from whose altar he had received his diadem.

* All these details, relating to Sicily during Frederick's visit, may be found in his Regesta for 1240, and in Richard of San Germano.

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The truth was, that the new Master of the Teutonic Order had just come to Rome, armed with recommendations from almost every great Prince in Germany, and was striving hard to make a truce between the Pope and the Emperor. Frederick, as is plain from his letters, fully expected that peace would now be made. But Gregory, highly to his honour, insisted on the Lombard rebels being included in the treaty; and so the whole undertaking miscarried. The Emperor fell ill, overcome by the heat of July; but soon recovering, and taking credit to himself for exchanging his easy life in Apulia for the dust of a summer campaign, he led his army by way of Sora through the Abruzzi. On the 11th of July we find him besieging Ascoli to the North of the Tronto; and this town kept him before it for at least a week. The Pope, anxious for the safety of Spoleto, garrisoned it with two hundred knights, led by Thomas Count of Molise, the Apulian rebel.* Frederick wrote to his son Conrad in a lofty strain; 'Though the chief priests and Pharisees have taken counsel against Christ the Lord, though a blasphemer has arisen against the Roman Chief; yet, thanks to God who resisteth the proud, the high priest is begging for peace. But we shall march on with mighty hand and stretched-out arm, having procured abundance of resources from our Kingdom; and we shall compel him to repent and to respect the Holy Empire and our person.'

Before proceeding to describe Frederick's Romagnole Campaign, we must look back to the state of Lombardy at the end of 1239. As soon as the Em-

* Ric. San Germano.

peror had quitted the stubborn walls of Milan and Piacenza, and had marched into Tuscany after disbanding his army, the Papal Legate in the North prepared for offensive measures. In December, Montelongo held a grand council at Bologna, where all the Guelf confederates in the North attended him, and where Azzo of Este renewed his oath to the Church.* It is impossible to help admiring the stirring energy of Montelongo. In February he dealt the blow which he had long been aiming, and fastened upon Ferrara.

This city makes but little show in the wars of the age; but its annals being uninteresting, its prosperity was great. It had thriven for fifteen years under the mild rule of Salinguerra, a noble specimen of the Ghibelline aristocracy — wise, brave, merciful, powerful, and wealthy. He had succeeded to his father's authority long before this time; his great age had made him a connecting link between the days of Frederick the First and those of Frederick the Second, between Lignano and Cortenuova. He had maintained a fierce struggle with Azzo the elder at the beginning of the century, in the course of which thirty-two towers had been demolished, and one party had driven out the other at least ten times. But these evil days were now over; Salinguerra was one of the best rulers of the age. It is mentioned as a distinguishing mark of Ferrara, that none but criminals were there driven into banishment. It was plentifully supplied with provisions, brought up the Po. Its two great fairs, at Easter and Martinmas, each of which lasted a fortnight, were frequented by

* Savioli.

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merchants from all parts of Italy and France. The public treasury was so rich, that there was always a surplus to be divided among the citizens; and every man rated his income as high as he could, to get more out of the public purse. The rich, more especially Salinguerra himself, would sell their corn to the poor at a very low price in times of scarcity. The plebeians were naturally on the side of their benefactor, but most of the nobles were Guelfs. Salinguerra however contrived to keep on good terms both with the Emperor and with the Bolognese, who were staunch to the Church. He had been persuaded by Eccelin, his brother-in-law, to espouse Frederick's cause in 1236, and had afterwards appeared in the Ghibelline camp. He was therefore hated by Philip, the Bishop elect of Ferrara, a stirring politician. The Ferrarese and the Venetians had committed various acts of piracy upon each other, which made war imminent. But Salinguerra was now not far from fourscore; his only son was an idiot; and Ramberti, upon whom he most relied, was a traitor. The golden days of Ferrara were soon to pass away.

Pope Gregory had begged the Doge of Venice to join in the enterprise contemplated by the Guelfs of the North, and to help the Legate. Stephen Badoer, a brave and skilful soldier, was chosen Captain of the Venetian forces. He led eight galleys, besides other vessels, with which early in February he sailed up the Po, and met the Marquess of Este with the Ferrarese Guelfs, and Regnier Zeno, who was Podesta of Bologna. The allies began operations by attacking and burning Salinguerra's bridge over the Po, although it was stoutly defended. The Mantuans took a tower on the Southern bank and broke a chain

that was stretched across the river. Montelongo now arrived with two hundred Milanese knights; Alberic of Romano, Philip the Bishop of Ferrara, and Paul Traversaro with the men of Ravenna, joined the army; the Venetians and Bolognese crossed the Po by a bridge of boats, and the siege of Ferrara was begun in earnest. Salinguerra had prepared for them a warm reception; he had eight hundred knights, the greater part of whom belonged to the Emperor, and many Lombard soldiers. He had also kept four casks full of money, when on their road to Frederick. It was the navy of Venice, as her Annalist boasts, that turned the scale against the Ghibellines. Mangonels and Petriers, some planted in ships, others on the land, hurled large stones into Ferrara and forced the besieged to toil night and day at new ramparts. The assault was made by Azzo and the Bolognese from one side, and by the Mantuans and Venetians from another quarter. The ladders and engines of Venice struck terror into the Ferrarese, although their valour extorted the admiration of the besiegers. The city would have been taken, but for a fearful storm, which checked the onset; happy was the man who had his head well covered. The fight was renewed on another day; and the ramparts, which Salinguerra had repaired, were once more dismantled.

Still the city held out, for the desultory assaults gave its defenders breathing-time. Old Tiepolo, the Doge of Venice, impatient of delay, came himself with large reinforcements. All ran to welcome him; after reconnoitring the walls, the veteran chief, who had won his spurs in Candia and at Constantinople, offered to take Ferrara, if the besiegers would only

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swear to obey his orders.* He planted the ladders against the walls, which he battered with his mangonels; and the garrison, headed by Ramberti the second in command, was soon entreating Salinguerra to yield. The aged Ghibelline, on being promised life and property for all his men, came to the tent of the Doge and did homage to the Legate, the representative of the Church, after the siege had lasted for four months.

Montelongo now planned a detestable act of treachery. He drew the noble Azzo into his plot, although that chief at first shrank from the Legate's proposal to break their oath made to Salinguerra. They had promised to allow the Ghibelline to return safe home; they kept their promise to the ear. Shortly afterwards, while partaking of Salinguerra's wine in his own house, the Guelfs unfolded their plot; Paul Traversaro rose and brought various charges against the host; Salinguerra began to defend himself, but the old man could not make his voice heard amid the scraping of feet that ensued. He left the room, but was seized and taken to Venice by the Doge, according to the advice of the Legate. He survived for four years, was honourably entertained by his gaolers, and was buried in the Church of St. Nicholas, where his epitaph may still be read. James Tiepolo was made Podesta of Ferrara, which was for ever lost to the Ghibellines. The traitor Ramberti was almost immediately banished. Fifteen hundred families, as a contemporary historian says, were driven out of Ferrara before the middle of

* 'De sa proece et son sen ne vos poroie ie trop conter.' Canale, who describes the siege at great length, takes care not to say a word about the final act of treachery.

June. The Venetians ruled the town with a rod of iron for two years, and then Azzo of Este was made Podesta. His lavish expenses led him to exact large sums of money from the burghers, who began to regret Salinguerra. Azzo, however, contrived to hand down Ferrara to his descendants, her future rulers for three hundred and fifty years.*

It was the opinion of many, that had the army which took Ferrara been directed against Eccelin, that tyrant must have been overthrown. He was dismayed at the disaster which had befallen Salinguerra.† But the Guelf host, to which so many states had contributed, could no longer be held together; indeed, it is no small proof of the Legate's abilities, that he was able to keep citizens, who had so many jarring interests, steady to one great object during four months. With some trouble he persuaded the states to go on with the payments which they had promised; the Pope wrote in angry terms, because Milan, Piacenza, Brescia, and Bologna had neglected to make good the 15,000 marks which was their appointed contribution. The war was far from being ended; the success of the Guelfs in the East was balanced, as usual, by a loss in the West. They took Ferrara in June; they had lost Alessandria in May. That city, built as a stronghold of the Lombard League, had long maintained her reputation; her sons had fought with the most determined bravery on the losing side at Cortenuova. She had been one of the Five states that held out against the Emperor in 1238, when all the other cities in Italy were bowing

* See for the siege of Ferrara the Chronicon Parvum Ferrariense, Canale, and Riccobaldi of Ferrara.

† Laur. de Monacis.

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before him. Gregory had in consequence restored to her the Bishoprick, of which she had been stripped by one of his predecessors. He had also threatened to deprive her troublesome neighbour Acqui of its Episcopal See.* But soon after receiving this favour, Alessandria broke her oath to the Church, made her old enemy the Marquess of Lancia her Podesta, and swore allegiance to him as Imperal Vicar.† The Ghibellines of Lombardy had been prevented by their unhappy divisions from aiding Ferrara; Cremona, Parma, Reggio, and Modena had all been distracted by seditions.‡ But the only chief who could keep them together was now coming up from the South. Frederick had sent letters to his Lombard allies, announcing his truce with the Pope as certain, and declaring that he would never, while he had life, desist from enforcing peace in Lombardy. He was soon undeceived as to the truce; he reviled Gregory bitterly as being headlong and fickle in all his ways. The Emperor was furious at the treachery practised upon Salinguerra by a Ruler of the Church, and hoped soon to be able to crush the false priests, who threw aside the surplice to gird the sword upon their loins.

He was now marching up from Ascoli. The Pope in vain besought the Bolognese, whom God had raised up for the exaltation of His Church, to succour the Anconitan March. Frederick was joined by his son, the King of Sardinia, and sat down before Ravenna on the 15th of August. Her great Captain, Paul Traversaro, had died only five days

* Raynaldus. † Barth. Scriba, Ann. Genuen.
‡ Chronicon.

before, and the city made but little resistance. The ditches surrounding her walls were drained in four days, and a handful of the besiegers captured and burnt a suburb. Messengers were sent to implore Frederick's mercy, and they threw themselves at his feet. He was touched by their tears, called to mind the old loyalty of Ravenna which had been faithful to him from 1212 up to 1239, and granted their prayer.* When he quitted the city, he left behind him a lieutenant, who entrenched and strengthened the Castle, making use of the stones of the houses lately destroyed by Traversaro.† The sons of that chief, and Theodoric the Archbishop of Ravenna, were sent off to Apulia. Those of the Ferrarese, who had been driven from their own city, made Ravenna their abode and took to piracy.‡

Frederick had resolved to attack Bologna, but was unwilling to leave Faenza, an old enemy, in his rear. This little town had been long remarkable for its courage and its Guelf principles. It had sent two hundred men to the Crusade against Saladin under the command of its Bishop, nearly all of whom left their bones under the walls of Acre. It had furnished a contingent of fifty knights to the Lombard League, when Frederick was held in check at Parma in 1226. Three years later, it had sent fifty-four knights to defend the Pope against Frederick's aggressive Viceroy. Though it had welcomed John de Brienne, it had honourably declined to join the rest of the Lombards in 1234, in the league which they then formed with the Emperor's rebellious son.

* See his letters for 1240. † Spicilegium Ravennatis Historiæ.
‡ Chron. Ferrarien. Ginanni.

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In this righteous refusal Faenza, as her historian boasts, stood alone.* Frederick was now bent upon gaining possession of his Romagnole enemy; he declared in his letters at this time that he should work his will upon Faenza within a very few days; he was nevertheless much mistaken. The town had already begun to make overtures to him, when the Pope incited it to rebellion, 'by means of his evil angels, the Minorite and Preaching Friars forsooth.' Late in August the Emperor sat down before Faenza, and burnt the suburbs. The place was defended by its Venetian Podesta Morosini, and by a thousand infantry from Venice and Bologna. Among the defenders was Count Guido Guerra, a brave warrior from Florence, renowned in the wars of the century; of whom we should have thought better, had not Dante coupled his name with a foul sin. The Emperor had united an immense army before the walls of Faenza. He had men from Germany, Tuscany, Apulia, and all the great cities of Romagna. Imola had ever been at his beck; so much so, that at the beginning of the year he had exempted it from the jurisdiction of his Vicar. Even distant Lodi, Vercelli, and Novara furnished a contingent. King Enzio was present in his father's camp.† Rodolph of Habsburg had led across the Alps a band of sturdy mountaineers from Uri, Schweitz, and Unterwalden. 'You have fled under our wings,' Frederick writes, 'like free men, who ought to look alone to us and to the Empire. We therefore will never allow you to be torn from our dominion.' The grandsons of these Switzers bethought them of this

* Tolosanus. † Chronicon.

Imperial Charter, to which they in vain appealed, before they were driven in self-defence to resort to Grutli and Morgarten. Frederick's camp was at this time full of Germans, as we see by the number of Charters granted to Transalpine towns. Amongst the other warriors of the North came Burchard, the Abbot of Rheinau, from a monastery near the well-known Falls of the Rhine. He brought with him twelve noble vassals and their servants. Others were intent upon the temporal spoils of Faenza; but this Churchman thought of nothing but her ghostly treasures, the relics of the saints, soon to be rifled and borne in triumph across the Alps.* In the same way the bones of the Three Kings had in the previous century been transferred from Milan to Cologne. The Abbot complained to Frederick of some harassing neighbours, the Lords of Krenkingen, who were oppressing his Church in the character of its Advocates. The Emperor bought back their much-cherished privilege for the Empire, paying them a hundred marks down, and promising them eleven times as much afterwards.

Among the Italians who rode at the Emperor's side during this Campaign was his old friend, Brother Elias. The unhappy man, whose hated English rival had by this time become General of the Franciscan Order, appeared in the Ghibelline camp both at Ravenna and Faenza, surrounded by a dozen apostate friars, all retaining the garb of St. Francis. The scandal thus created was cast in the teeth of those of the Minorites, who remained true to the Pope. The boys and girls in the streets of the Tuscan towns

* Zapf.

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used to sing rhymes about the Friar who had taken the bad road, whenever they saw a Franciscan. The good Brethren were worried almost to death by their young tormentors.*

All this time, Frederick was making himself very popular in Central Italy. He ordered a Palace to be built in Viterbo, as an acknowledgment of the loyalty of that city, and he also established a mint there. He allowed the citizens to hold a yearly fair, which was to last for fifteen days after Michaelmas. He reminded Como of her loyalty to his grandfather, gave her a German garrison, cautioned her against the blandishments of the Milanese, and bade her expect his own speedy arrival in Lombardy, as soon as Faenza should yield. He had not a doubt, he wrote, of winning Bologna as well. The conduct of the Guelf cities of the North during this period is inexplicable. Not an attempt seems to have been made to relieve Faenza. They were most likely distracted by internal faction; just as the Ghibelline states had been, when they had no leisure to succour Ferrara earlier in the year. Besides, the Emperor's lieutenants provided the Guelfs with full employment. Eccelin was watchful as ever in the Trevisan March, and beheaded some of his subjects for a few rash words. His great enemy, Azzo of Este, was defeated in July by the German and Saracen levies. Another leading Guelf, James of Carrara, came to a sad end about this time. He was holding out in his Castle of Agna with a band of exiles. Theobald,

* Salimbene. The rhymes were,

'Hor attorna Fratt Helya,
Ke pres' ha la mala via.'

the Apulian Podesta of Padua, marched at night with a thousand well-armed foot and many horsemen. He surprised his enemy, whom he far outnumbered, before dawn. Rolandini draws a fine picture of the gallant chief of Carrara sitting on his charger in full armour, 'as a noble knight should do,' and quotes the proverb; 'God may help the fewer number; still the greater number usually prevail.' Showers of arrows were poured in by the besiegers; the affrighted women of the garrison tried to escape with their valuables, embarking in a boat, which being overcrowded sank with all on board in the marsh near the Castle. It is called to this day the Ladies' Lake. James was made prisoner after slaying many of the enemy, and his Castle was burnt. His captors were unwilling to bring him into Padua, on account of his popularity among the burghers. He was clad in a black hood, (such was the custom of the Empire, when a knight was taken in arms against the Emperor,) and his head was struck off on the bridge. Four days afterwards the like doom befell the brother of James of Carrara.*

While the great Romagnole siege was being pressed forward, the Pope strove to effect a diversion. He sent once more to Venice, begging the Doge to do something for the relief of Faenza. That town was garrisoned by two hundred Venetians, and it had chosen Michael Morosini for its Podesta. The Doge, hearing that twelve of the Emperor's galleys were steering for Ravenna, made ready a fleet of twenty-five galleys, and gave the command of it to his son,

* Rolandini. Vitæ Principum Carrariensium.

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John Tiepolo. This brave Captain sailed to the Apulian coast, but was unable to find the Imperial vessels. He landed his men at various points, and burnt four of Frederick's fortified towns. When just preparing to surprise Brindisi, the Venetians espied a huge ship, the Leviathan of the age, far out at sea. She was coming home from Syria with a thousand men on board, well armed, who refused to surrender for their lives. After giving the Apulian fair warning, Tiepolo began the fight. The Venetians surrounded their enemy on every side, and poured in showers of quarrels from their crossbows. Frederick's men made a gallant defence, hurling down stones and javelins from their decks, which were high enough to render hopeless any attempt to board. The Venetian Captain now tried another method; he drove his own galley into the Apulian with all the force of his oars, and his mates followed. This attempt also proved a failure; whereupon the assailants, in despair of taking the huge ship, set fire to her. The vessel, which seems by the Venetian account to have been the marvel of the age, was burnt with all on board. Tiepolo and his men sailed back to Venice, where a warm welcome awaited them.* The Emperor was furious at the damage they had done him. In revenge, he sent into Apulia and hanged the other Tiepolo, the ill-starred Podesta of Milan, who had been a captive for three years.† Henceforward Venice took but little part in the great war.

All this time Frederick was urging on the siege

* Martin da Canale. It is strange that this chronicler says nothing of the fate of Tiepolo's brother.

† Chronicon.

of Faenza. The various warlike machines known to the engineers of the time were employed against the walls of the little Romagnole town. The Sow, the Vine, and the Cat were used to shelter the workmen who were undermining the walls with their pickaxes, and on whom the besieged in vain rained down stones and torches. Towers, whence the assailants could shoot arrows into the town, were wheeled up to the walls. The Calabra, the Ill-Neighbour, the Lady, and the Queen were employed to hurl huge stones against the ramparts; these machines, we are assured, in skilful hands would break through lofty walls and stone halls.* But the utmost efforts of the Ghibelline engineers had no effect upon Faenza, which was remarkable, so Frederick says in his letters, for being the strongest town in Romagna. In October, he found himself constrained to turn the siege into a blockade. He hutted his men, after digging a large trench round his camp, which he fortified with towers and pinnacles. The army was abundantly supplied with provisions, brought from the Kingdom by sea and land. Four cities in the Anconitan March, upon which the Pope had counted, came over to the Empire, and thus communications with the South were maintained. The Emperor had more than one grudge against Faenza; according to him, it was second to Milan alone in rebellious courses. 'We shall not stir,' he wrote in October to the King of France, 'either for winter, or

* 'E dressa sos Calabres, e faia Mala Vezina,
E sas autras peireiras, e Dona, e Reina:
Pessia los autz murs e la sala peirina.'

William of Tudela. These engines were used in the Albigensian war, thirty years before this time.

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for hail, or for rain, until we have utterly confounded our rebels.' The besieged were probably surprised at his perseverance, for in that age a winter campaign was an almost unheard-of operation. Many of them stole out by night, on leave being granted to quit the city. Before winter had come, salt, wine, and meat were running short; the rich were unwilling to help the poor in anything, and turned them out of the gates.* They also drove out the women, children, and maid-servants. These unhappy victims threw themselves on the ground on approaching the Emperor's camp, and besought his mercy. He gave them a hearing, but said; 'Let them go back to their husbands and masters, whom I denounce as guilty of treason before God and man; they shall have no mercy, since they showed none to me. They murdered one of my knights, who was clad in Imperial armour, thinking that they had killed me, their Lord.† They also mutilated the palfrey upon which my mother was riding through their city, venting their rage on a brute beast; they paid no respect to her Royal rank, or even to her sex.' After thundering out these words, he ordered the starving women to be driven back into Faenza. The next embassy sent to the Emperor consisted of aged men, who only asked for leave to quit the city with their lives and with decent raiment. But Frederick answered: 'Since they would not in prosperity return to their allegiance, I will give no heed to their cry in the time of trouble.' The burghers were in despair.‡

Another siege was at the same time being carried on in the Kingdom. Benevento was blockaded

* Chronicon. † This was in 1226. ‡ M. Paris.

about the time that Faenza was first assailed. The Pope wrote to console his afflicted flock, whom he likened to gold tried in the fire, and whom he exhorted to hold out as long as they could. He gave the Beneventans leave to confiscate the goods of certain traitors, who had tried to betray the city, and had then fled. These men and their heirs were to be banished for ever. Gregory must have been still more enraged in November, when Frederick sent orders to drive all the Dominicans and Franciscans out of the Kingdom, allowing two friars only in each convent to remain. Those left, who were to be natives of the Kingdom, took care of the deserted monasteries.* The Emperor wrote to his Justiciaries for more money, explaining the whole of his policy. 'Faenza,' said he, 'is the one hindrance to check the wheel of our conquest. We must have it when the spring comes, and Bologna as well. Our presence will not be needed afterwards; the war is coming to an end; so we know you will not object to give us aid. We have stinted ourselves, rather than lay unwonted burdens upon you. The subsidy we now expect is less than usual, and it is to be raised from the Churches, the Clergy, the Barons, and from our domains.' This letter was followed, as usual, by a collection of taxes in January.† The prolongation of the great siege, which had already lasted four months, caused much impatience. Como sent to ask that her soldiers, then serving in the Imperial camp, might be sent home. 'They will return to you in our company,' answered Frederick, 'when we have gained over

* Ric. San Germano. † Ibid.

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Faenza, the victory that we shall without doubt speedily gain.' It is plain that friends and foes alike were puzzled by the winter campaign. Frederick sent many letters to Como during the blockade. He had heard, he said, much about her loyalty from her old Captain, Berthold von Hohenburg, who was now serving at Faenza. When February came, the Emperor detached his son Enzio with large forces, to march into Lombardy. Frederick hoped soon to follow, and his arrival would be more speedy than folk thought. All the costs, to which his lieges at Como had been subjected, would then be repaid. In the same month he wrote to the Florentines, exulting at the approach of spring, which would bring with it the fall of Faenza. 'Let not our lieges live at home in ease, when our person, whom God has set over the Empire, is toiling in a cuirass with frost and ice around. Let them not defer their subsidies. Send your knights and crossbowmen, as many as you can, so as to be with us at Faenza on the 1st of April. We are despatching our son, the King of Sardinia, to arouse our subjects.'

It is to a Florentine historian that we owe a curious trait of the age. The expenses attending the maintenance of a large army for more than seven months were enormous. We find no traces in this campaign of the merchants, who lent Frederick so much money in 1239 and 1240. The Emperor pledged his plate and jewels, but still food was scarce, even in the rich country that surrounds Faenza. In this strait he devised a rude expedient. The Lombards do not seem to have perfected as yet their great invention of bills of exchange and promissory notes. Frederick stamped pieces of leather

with the mark of his mint, and gave to the novel coinage the value of golden Augustals. On the one side was the Emperor's image, on the other the Eagle. This coinage, contrary to what might have been expected, became very popular, especially at Florence. The full value represented by the leather was afterwards honourably paid out of Frederick's treasury.*

In the mean time no relief came to the Faenza garrison. We hear indeed that Montelongo the Legate was much displeased at the state of affairs, but he seems to have done nothing. Milan was engaged in burning numbers of the heretics she had nursed; a sacrifice meant to propitiate the Pope, her best friend, who alone could save her from the sentence of destruction which the impending General Council of the Church was likely to pass. Moreover, the city was distracted by the broils which broke forth, on Della Torre becoming her Podesta, and on Brother Leo the Minorite electing himself as her Archbishop.† Bologna was occupied with an exchange of prisoners between herself, Parma, and Modena.‡ It is almost certain that Faenza had foul play from pretended allies. One of the Ubaldini family at Florence, who was made Bishop of Bologna in this year and who afterwards became a Cardinal, was suspected of treachery.§ Besides this, the Pope had not a few religious enemies within the walls of the besieged town. One day, two men who belonged to some heretical sect, and who perhaps hoped to be owned as brethren by one whom Gregory had banned,

* John Villani.
† M. Paris. Gal. Fiamma.
‡ Chron. Parmense.
§ Salimbene. Croniche di Bologna.

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left Faenza and sought the Emperor's presence. He asked, why they came, or what they brought. They answered; 'We are of the number of the Good Men, and we are loyal to you in all things.' Frederick drove them away with scorn, but could not help saying; 'O that my enemies, the Rulers of the Church, would be as sound in their practice as they are in their belief!' *

The end of the long blockade was now at hand. On the 25th of March the Emperor was able to announce that the besieged were almost at their last gasp, for the warlike engines had been once more set to play upon the ramparts. His miners had also been sapping underground, and his army was being constantly reinforced by fresh levies. The walls of Faenza were crumbling to pieces; the soil underneath was mined in every direction; hand-to-hand contests took place every day. On Sunday, the 14th of April, the strongest bulwark of Romagna fell. Its starving and worn-out defenders came forth unshod, with their swords unsheathed.† They knelt in crowds at the Emperor's feet, and begged his mercy with sighs and groans. They expected to die by the most exquisite tortures, since they had added to the guilt of their old offences, by standing out against their Lord for seven months and a half. But their conqueror showed himself inclined more to mercy than to judgment.‡ As he avows in his letters, he felt that pity was more glorious than vengeance, and that it was a pious kind of revenge to overlook his own wrongs, when it was in his power to avenge them cruelly. He freely forgave the townsmen all

* Fran. Pipin. † Chronicon. ‡ M. Paris.

the past, although, as he says, their offences had been none of the least; he merely exacted an oath of fealty and an abjuration of all unlawful engagements. He lost nothing by this unexpected clemency, which he further extended to Benevento, when that city surrendered almost at the same time as Faenza. He contented himself with pulling down the walls and towers of this eyesore to his Kingdom, stripping the burghers of their arms.* The money laid out on these two sieges, each of which lasted almost eight months, must have been a heavy drain on the Emperor's resources. Still his clemency, shown after such provocation, won him much applause throughout Christendom. Our English Chronicler, who is sure to mark every change of the popular gale, likens him to the noble lion, willing to spare a fallen foe, while wolves, bears, and other meaner animals worry the dying in their last agonies.† Frederick never appeared to greater advantage than during the Leaguer of Faenza. Fond of pleasure though he was, he exchanged the ease of his Palace at Lucera for the ice and frost of a winter campaign. Charged with treachery on too many occasions, he set an example of good faith in money matters, which the military despots and reckless democracies of our own time would do well to imitate. Cruel by nature he certainly was, yet his mercy to the starving Guelfs is one of the finest acts in his life.

He could not have been altogether satisfied with the results he had just obtained. The great city of Ferrara had been taken by the Guelfs in 1240 after a siege of only four months. The small town of Faenza was

* Ric. San Germano. † M. Paris.

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only taken by the Ghibellines in 1241 after a siege of almost eight months. The former conquest was lasting; the latter was not abiding. The late siege must have suggested unpleasant thoughts to the Emperor. If it had taken him so long to conquer Faenza, how many months would the sieges of Milan and Bologna occupy! The end of the war seemed farther off than ever. He wrote an account of the surrender of Faenza to Eccelin, remarking that rebels should now no longer put their trust in the height of their walls or in the depth of their trenches. Eccelin, who was at Verona, acted upon the hint, and almost got the Castle of Este into his hands.* Frederick made Faenza his abode for more than a month, and amply rewarded Regnier the Count of Cunio, who had done much to help the besieging army, and who had at last accomplished the surrender of the town. In May, the Emperor prevailed on the neighbouring city of Cesena to give up Borgo Nuovo to him. He instantly destroyed all the houses and towers in it, and worked up the materials into a huge Castle, one of his many fortresses.† Later in the year, he ordered another to be built at Faenza, and King Enzio sent off all suspected Guelfs into Apulia.‡ Frederick visited Ravenna, to the ancient monuments of which he showed no mercy. He converted all the stones and marbles of the Golden gate into lime, which was wanted for the towers he was building all round the city wall. He carried off from the old Church of San Vitale two curious pillars, the throne of Archbishop Theodoric, and other stones, sending them by way of Rimini to

* Rolandini. † Ann. Cæsenates. ‡ Chronicon.

Palermo.* His great partizan in Romagna was Roger the Count of Bagnacavallo, crafty as a fox. This nobleman's brother, Guido Malabocca, procured from the Emperor the death of one of the Polenta family, who was among the hostages taken from Ravenna. The victim left behind him a boy, Guido da Polenta, who long afterwards avenged his father's death upon Malabocca, but who is most interesting in our eyes as the father of the immortal Francesca. Frederick's treatment of hostages was not reassuring to their kinsfolk; it was rumoured that he had thrown Aica, the handsome daughter of Paul Traversaro, into a fiery furnace in his Apulian dominions, when her father first gave him cause for displeasure.† The Emperor was now among the Romagnoles for the last time; he had meant to have laid waste the Bolognese lands, but an unlooked-for chance of war called him once more back to the South.

* Spicilegium Ravennatis Historiæ.

† Salimbene. But either this lady, or a most daring impostor who personated her, appeared at Ravenna long afterwards, and obtained the Traversaro property.

CHAPTER XIV.

A.D. 1240—A.D. 1241.

'This England,

. . . . . .

Dear for her reputation through the world,
Is now leased out (I die pronouncing it),
Like to a tenement or pelting farm.'

SHAKSPEARE, *Richard II.*

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THE Pope had carried on the war against the Emperor from March, 1239, up to June, 1240, without any thought of making peace. But Frederick's arms were proving too strong for the Church. She had indeed stirred up several rebellions against his authority, had taken Ferrara, and had given new life to the Lombard League. But on the other hand, he had conquered almost the whole of Central Italy, had narrowly missed taking Rome itself, and was ready in June to renew the war, after having replenished his coffers in Apulia. Pope Gregory, unwillingly no doubt, found himself constrained to listen to the advice of his brethren, and to make overtures for a truce. The letters which came from the Princes of Germany, almost amounting to threats, had this result in view. But the truce ended in nothing, owing to the honourable conduct of Gregory, who had insisted upon the Lombard rebels being included in the proposed peace. In July, 1240, Frederick, who was then laying waste the

March, writes bitterly as ever against the fickleness of his Holiness.

Gregory was now bent upon a new project. His enemy had already in the previous year appealed from the sentence of Rome to the decision of a General Council. The Pope resolved to take him at his word, and to assemble the Council. The rivals well remembered the great assembly which met at the Lateran in 1215, and which solemnly confirmed Pope Innocent's deposition of the Emperor Otho in favour of Frederick. Something of the same kind might now be accomplished, to the prejudice of the same Frederick. Rome had given him the Empire, and Rome might perhaps be able to take it from him. On the 9th of August, Gregory sent forth his Encyclical Letters, addressed to the Kings and Archbishops of Christendom, inviting them to appear at Rome by Easter, 1241. It was true that God had provided one Head for His Church ; but in the present crisis, the Head had need of the aid of all the members. The Bishops and Abbots were also summoned, as well as the envoys of Royalty.

Frederick had good reason to fear this new device of Rome. In a letter to his fast friend, the Bishop of Ostia, he complained that the Pope, the Bishop's uncle, was only pouring oil into the furnace. The wound must be treated with mildness, or it would become incurable. He had heard that no definite object had been set forth in the letters which summoned the Prelates ; still, he had no doubt of the Pope's real meaning. The Emperor's consent to peace should have been asked, before an appeal was made to the votes of far distant lands. In September, Frederick had decided upon his course. While en-

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camped before the walls of Faenza, he wrote to his brother Monarchs. According to him, Gregory had made a second attempt at arranging terms of union, sending Guala the wise Bishop of Brescia to procure a little breathing-time for the Lombards, and to suggest that a short truce would lead to a long peace. 'See,' cried the Emperor, 'what kind of men the Pope is bidding to the Council! All our rebels are invited by name; the Count of Provence, the Doge of Venice, the Marquess of Este, the Count of San Bonifazio, Alberic of Romano, the Lords of Camino, and Paul Traversaro. It is notorious that the Pope has bribed these men to attempt our life. We made answer to the Bishop, that we had no quarrel with Holy Church, but only with her Head; that we were willing to grant the truce, if the Lombards were excepted from it. We shall never stoop to lay our worldly business before a ghostly assembly, convoked by our worst enemy. We beg your Royal Highness to make known to your Prelates our firm resolve to refuse them safe-conducts.' Gregory was not deterred from his darling project; in October, he made arrangements with the Genoese for the passage of the Northern Prelates to Rome, and exhorted the rebels in Upper Italy to prove themselves Catholic men by sending envoys to the Council. Frederick was enraged at the Papal stubbornness; he wrote to the King of France, declaring that the Bark of St. Peter was being wrecked by her drunken and drowsy crew, who were talking in their sleep of wars against the Roman Empire, while their nets were being torn and their swords blunted. 'We hate heresy,' cried the Emperor once more, 'but the Pope is cherishing Milan, a nest of heretics and a sink of all vices. No

wonder that we forbid the assembling of the Council, since it is convoked to work our ruin! The Pope rejected the mediation of your Serenity, and forbade our calling a Council to prove our innocence; we shall assuredly not allow it to be summoned, in order that our name and race may be destroyed by him.' The Emperor wrote to all his faithful subjects in February, 1841, while he was still kept before Faenza, bidding them prevent the Northern Prelates from coming to Rome either by sea or by land; he gave his lieges free leave to seize upon the horses or goods of any Prelates whom they might find bound for Rome; he moreover hinted at Imperial favours in return for any services rendered. Later in the month he wrote to the Chapter of the Dominicans, which was then being held at Paris, expressing his wish to have personal intercourse with the holy assembly, boasting of his devotion to the faith, and begging them to check the zeal of some of their brethren, who ran about on the Pope's errands and defamed the Emperor. Their holy ministry ought not to be disgraced by a wish to meddle in worldly disputes. This was the state of affairs at the beginning of 1241. Genoa was the pivot of the Papal operations; the Kingdoms of the world were called upon to bear their part in the quarrel between the Church and the Empire; Gregory at Rome, and Frederick in his camp at Faenza, were despatching letter after letter on the subject of the expected Lateran Council, which the one was bent upon assembling, the other upon thwarting.

We must now cast a glance upon the Kingdoms, the attitude of which was so important to the two great combatants. Those of North-Eastern Europe

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may be soon dismissed; Poland and Hungary were of small weight, and were now trembling at the approach of a fearful scourge, that had already mangled Russia. Sweden, Norway, and Denmark were exposed to the same danger, and took but little interest in the great Italian struggle. Germany on the contrary was violently stirred by the practices of the Papal Legates. These were three in number, belonging to three different nations; Regnier of St. Quentin the Archdeacon of Troyes, Philip Fontana, and Albert von Beham the Archdeacon of Passau.* Little is known of the French Archdeacon, except that he cited the Bishop of Ratisbon, the Chancellor of the Empire, to appear before him at Troyes. All Germany laughed at the insolence of the foreigner, who was supplied with money by the Sienese merchants, as Gregory had ordered. What right had the Pope, it was asked, to reduce to thraldom the flock that had been redeemed by God's own blood? Philip, the second Legate, very soon returned to Rome, after exacting an obsolete tribute from the German monks.

The third Legate was not a man to be easily discouraged. Albert von Beham was most probably a Bohemian by birth; at least it is certain from notes in his own handwriting still extant that he understood the Czech tongue. He was long employed as an advocate at the Roman Court, and while there he probably saw Frederick do homage to Innocent in 1212, the year in which Albert himself received from the Pope

* Almost all our knowledge of German affairs at this time is derived from his letters published by Höfler, and from Aventinus.

a stall at Passau.* He appeared in Germany just before the great event of 1239, well trained in the wiles of Rome, and happy in the possession of the most dauntless courage and perseverance. In this, he was quite the equal of his brother Legate Montelongo; and unlike the Italian, he was free from the reproach of unchastity. It is said however that he was venal; he would excommunicate his enemies in public, and then, after taking a bribe, would give them a written absolution in private. A better man could not have been pitched upon for the German mission; his one aim was the welfare of Rome; he was active, cunning, clear-sighted, endowed with a fair command of abusive language, and above all, thoroughly unscrupulous. He had great influence over the King of Bohemia and the Duke of Bavaria, the latter of whom he calls his gossip. On his arrival in Germany in 1239, he found that the young Duke of Austria was the only Prince up in arms against the Kaiser; the war on the Danube had been raging for nearly three years. The Pope sent a letter into Germany, forbidding the barons to support an Emperor who had employed the aid of the Assassins, and who had burnt a Minorite in Apulia. Albert's first care was to bring up allies for the prosecution of the siege of Vienna. The Duke of Bavaria came to the help of his Austrian brother, while the King of Bohemia was exerting himself to procure the election of a new King of the Romans, in opposition to Frederick and Conrad. Three candidates were named, all of whom in succession declined the election; these were Abel the Prince of Denmark, Otho of Bruns-

* Schritovinus.

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wick, and Robert of France.* But the other party were not idle. Conrad, the actual King of the Romans, was but a boy of eleven; he had however two watchful guardians in the Archbishop of Mayence and Godfrey von Hohenlohe, to whose charge his father had entrusted him. On the first of June they came to Egra with a thousand knights, and brought over to their side the young Margrave of Meissen and the Landgrave of Thuringia. The Duke of Bavaria, angry at the success of the Imperial party, asked the Pope to send down an excommunication directed against the Landgrave and Conrad his brother, who was, notwithstanding this request, elected Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, after the death of Hermann von Salza at Barletta. The Brotherhood could not forget the favours which the Kaiser had heaped upon it. Thus the South and East of Germany was arrayed on the Pope's side against the North and West, which favoured Frederick.

Albert von Beham had not much success with his ghostly brethren. He, a plain Archdeacon, was raised in his character of Papal Legate above the haughty Prelates of Germany, whose obedience he in vain strove to enforce. They wrote to the Papal Court, proffering their services as mediators between it and the Kaiser; were they not at the same time pillars of the Church and Princes of the Empire? Frederick had received their overtures courteously; they now besought his Holiness to do the same, and not to drive them to choose between their duty to Rome and their duty to Cæsar. They were especially scandalized at Montelongo's sojourn among the

* Alb. Trium Fontium.

Milanese rebels. The limbs of the Empire could not be wanting to their head; the Pope must not listen to any discontented member of the Germanic body. Gregory however in November wrote back word to his Legates in Germany to constrain all the Prelates to publish the sentence of excommunication against their beloved Kaiser. Defections were taking place. The Duke of Austria had in the course of this year mastered Vienna, besides regaining the affections of his nobles and the Imperial favour.* His conduct throughout had been characteristic; he had broken out into rebellion, when the Emperor was at the height of his power; the Duke now made overtures for peace, just at the time when the Emperor had lost great part of Germany. Frederick sent a letter in June, 1240, to his headstrong friend, now at length reconciled to him, and therefore under the Papal frown. He had been delighted, so he wrote, at receiving trusty messengers from Austria. He had ever borne a fatherly love to the young Duke, and had been moved by clemency not to punish him according to his deserts, although many councillors had advised the Kaiser to lop off so noble a limb from the Empire. The rod had been applied in love, not in anger. Now was the time for the Duke, in the full bloom of youth, to practise all the virtues and gain the Imperial favour. Frederick had no thought of harming him, a suspicion of which seems to have been constantly lurking in the Ducal mind. He even gave his vassal leave to despatch envoys to the Court of Rome on the subject of a divorce.

The Emperor's party in Germany were doing their

* Chron. Mellicense.

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best to restore peace. In the spring of 1240, after many of them had been excommunicated by Von Beham, they joined in sending a messenger to lay their wishes before the Pope. The Archbishops of Cologne and Treves, together with nine other Bishops, imputed the war to the Enemy of mankind, and hoped that Gregory would receive the Emperor back into the Church, since Frederick had avowed that he was ready to stand by law. Some regard ought to be had for the interest of the Holy Land. The Landgrave of Thuringia, the Count Palatine of Saxony, the Dukes of Brabant, Lorraine, and Limburg, together with six Counts, desired Gregory to remember that it was no light matter to harass the Prince of the Romans and the King of many Realms. They begged the Pope not to listen to false flatterers, who would forsake him as soon as they had gained their own ends. The Archbishop of Mayence offered to come to Rome, if his presence would help to make the peace. The Bishop of Augsburg bewailed the wars and oppression of Churches, woes brought upon Germany by the Pope's policy. Otho of Brunswick feared that things would go from bad to worse. The Duke of Saxony entreated for peace in the name of Christ. The Margraves of Brandenburg held that unless God sent an Angel of Peace, the most fearful evils would overwhelm Christendom. These Princes spoke very freely; they had already told Gregory, on his wishing them to elect a new King, that he had no right to set up any one in the room of the Emperor; all the Pope had to do was to crown the man whom the Princes might choose.*

* Alb. Stadensis.

The messenger, who bore to Rome the complaints of Germany, was Conrad of Thuringia, the successor of Hermann von Salza. Conrad had little in his character of the chivalrous piety of his brother Louis, or of the cool wary selfishness of his brother Henry. He had, on one occasion, rushed with drawn sword upon the Archbishop of Mayence, whom he would have killed on the spot had he not been held back. He had sacked the town of Wetzlar and slain the citizens to a man. In the course of the war many churches had been robbed, many priests had been captured, and the Host had been thrown down upon the ground. Conrad had striven to atone for these misdeeds by procuring the canonization of his sister-in-law, and in 1238, he repented of his sins, wore sackcloth, and was flogged by the priests, who laid on the lash as if they had been hangmen; the bystanders were melted into tears.* In the next year he was rewarded for his piety by rising to the head of the Teutonic Order. In the spring of 1240, the German Princes sent him to Rome with their letters, for none of themselves were able to make the journey on account of the dangers of the road, and the suspicions which would be aroused. They had full trust, so they told the Pope, in Conrad's wisdom. The firstfruits of his arrival was the attempted truce of June, 1240; this, however, soon came to nothing, and Conrad died at Rome in the next month.† His corpse was brought to Marburg, the head-quarters of his Order.‡

* Chron. Erphord. Chron. Terræ Misnensis.
† Chron. Sampetr. ‡ Chron. Thuringicum.

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Albert von Beham had but sorry news for the Pope. The Duke of Austria had already forsaken the side of the Church, and in the August of this year, the King of Bohemia did the like. 'He is the King of Blasphemia,' cried Albert, 'not of Bohemia.' The Duke of Bavaria now stood quite alone in Germany; frightened almost to death, he hastened to try and change the King's purpose. Most of the Czech Barons were for the Pope, and prevailed on their Lord to delay his decision for a short time. Gebhard von Arnstein and five Teutonic knights were the chief authors of the late accession to the Emperor's party. The King of Bohemia was puffed up with pride, thinking that he held the balance between the two sides. Albert advised the Pope to treat him gently, and to work on him by means of his sister, a Franciscan nun, who had great influence over him. Let the Bohemian Barons be threatened with an interdict, which one of the Hungarian Prelates would be able to carry into effect. The Duke of Bavaria was at his wit's ends; his wife, a most devout Princess, had fallen into a fever owing to her alarm; his country was open to an attack from many quarters. At the end of his letter, Albert adds mysteriously; 'Holy Father, I make known to you a great secret. I was telling my Lord the Duke, that he and his brother Electors had lost their right of election, because they had not asserted their privilege within the proper time by electing a new King; that the Roman Church must have a Catholic Advocate, now that it is assailed by heretics; that it would set up a Frenchman or a Lombard as King, without consulting the Germans; and that thus the Empire, as before, would pass to

strangers. My Lord Duke answered mildly and simply; "O that our Lord the Pope had done this very thing already! I would in that case be content to give a written renunciation of my two-fold Electoral voice for the Palatinate and Bavaria, on behalf of myself and my heirs."' The poor Duke, denounced as a traitor to the Empire by the other Princes, was thoroughly bewildered, and wished that greatness had never been thrust upon him. A remarkable vision was most seasonably vouchsafed to one of Albert's friends. Poppo, the Provost of Munster, saw the ivory images of the Virgin and the Apostles descend from heaven; each figure bore in its breast a confirmation of all the acts of the Papal Legate. This vision probably induced Duke Otho to cherish yet a little longer in his bosom 'his household Siren,' as Frederick called Albert. But the House of Wittelsbach owed all to the House of Hohenstaufen. 'We gave you the Duchy,' said the Kaiser, 'and we can take it away.' His son Conrad had a stolen interview with the Duke's wife, and told her that Otho must be reduced to plain Wittelsbach. These threats had some effect. Albert, furious at hearing a ballad sung through the streets, 'Down goes the Pope, up goes the Kaiser,'* advised Gregory to keep the Duke steady to his party by the threat of an interdict, and to send encouragement to the Bohemian Barons.

It was a much harder task to deal with the Lords Spiritual. The Archbishop of Bremen, 'bold as a lion,' was the only Prelate whom Albert could commend. All the others sturdily refused to publish

* Ruit pars Papalis, prævaluit Imperialis.

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the Papal sentence against the Kaiser. The Archbishop of Magdeburg was threatened by the Legate. The Archbishop of Treves, who was now old and feeble, retreated beyond the Rhine.* He of Salzburg took upon himself to relax the interdict laid upon Austria, which he had seduced from the side of Rome, and he persuaded every Bishop in Bavaria to resist Albert von Beham. The Prelates of Salzburg and Passau trampled under their feet the Pope's letters, and threatened any Papal emissary who should dare to bring in more briefs. The Archbishop, aided by his brother of Brixen, watched the Alpine passes so carefully, that Albert had to employ an old woman and a child to carry his letters into Italy. The Bishop of Strasburg kept sending excuses for not publishing the sentence. The Bishop of Ratisbon appealed against the Legate, expressed a wish to see the original Papal letters, and proclaimed that the Pope had bowed before the Kaiser. His Canons boasted in the presence of the Imperial embassy, that they themselves would keep six hundred knights in the field for three years, for the honour of the Empire and of their most dear Lord Frederick. Albert hereupon began to take strong measures, but the crafty Bishop of Ratisbon outwitted him; and the Bavarian clergy said, that now they were secure of their benefices, they would not fear the thunders and lightenings of the Romans, or give a bean for the sentence of suspension and excommunication. Albert advised that if any Bishop proved refractory, the Chapter should be ordered to proceed to a fresh election. The Dean and Chapter of Passau had gone

* Gesta Arch. Trevir.

so far as to preach a Crusade against the Pope's Legate. The latter, nothing daunted, excommunicated five Prelates and three Princes, who laughed at the sentence. He begged Gregory to cite several of the refractory clergy from fourteen Chapters, which he named, to appear at Rome within two months' time; this would bring the Bishops to their senses. Albert also wrote to Montelongo, entreating for the appointment of a Legate, who should be daring and robust. He complained of his poverty, and asked a loan of his Lombard brother. A scene which took place at Passau is too remarkable to be passed over. The Chapter, in obedience to Frederick, had erased from the rolls the name of Von Beham, their Archdeacon. The Bishop was holding an ordination in the Cathedral, when a lay messenger brought up to the high altar one of Albert's letters. Bishop Rudiger looked askant at the seal, dashed the paper to the ground, and bestowed a buffet upon the unlucky bearer, who had some trouble to escape a dungeon, after in vain appealing to the Dean and Canons, the witnesses of the outrage. The Bishop of Eichstadt, together with his Chapter, was excommunicated by Albert, although he was his cousin. The Bishop of Freisingen appealed at once to the Emperor, avowing that the Roman Priest had no right to meddle in German affairs without the consent of the German Bishops. 'Let him feed his Italians; we, who are the dogs appointed by God, will drive from the flock the wolves in sheep's clothing!' The Bishop of Bamberg robbed the messengers whom Albert sent forth from his lair at Landshut. These men were chiefly Dominicans or Cistercians, driven from their convents; if one failed to deliver

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a letter, another was ready to go in his place. But the clergy held the Legate's threats very cheap, and the laity feared the word excommunication, so awful of yore, no more than a common ghost tale or an old wife's fable. The only way that Albert could keep his party together, was by distributing the revenues of the refractory clergy amongst his knightly adherents. The policy of Rome was that Germany should ruin itself by its own strength.

The election of a new King had been retarded by the refusal of the Danish Monarch to allow his son to accept the proffered Crown. 'Gregory the Ninth,' said he, 'is bent on renewing the days of Gregory the Seventh, and no good man will approve of the example being repeated.' A candidate of lower rank had to be sought. 'If you want,' Albert wrote to the Pope, 'to set up a new King or a Captain for Lombardy or Tuscany, order Henry von Neifen to be sent to Rome. I have talked him over, and he will go to you at his own cost, if his friend the Bishop of Strasburg bids him. Henry comes of one of the best houses, and knows grammar and French very fairly.' The Bishop of Freisingen had overthrown the unhappy Duke of Bavaria, and had forced him to a disgraceful composition, making him pay four thousand marks of silver. This the Pope was advised to quash. The Kaiser's partizans were gaining ground everywhere, but were discouraged on hearing that Cardinal Sinibald Fiesco was coming into Germany by way of Hungary. It is certain, however, that the Cardinal came no farther than Ancona. The Pope sent his thanks to Albert von Beham, ordered the King of Bohemia to take up arms against the reprobate

Frederick, the adversary of the Trinity, and begged the Duke of Bavaria to shield the hated Legate from all harm. The Emperor, on the other hand, sent orders to the Duke to drive out Albert, the little priest who was cursing his Lord. 'It was my grandfather and I,' says Frederick, pointedly, 'who raised your grandfather and you to the highest post.' About this time, a band of Germans, as already stated, marched to the siege of Faenza; Ulm, Augsburg, Nuremberg, and Werda sent their soldiers to the Kaiser, and were therefore excommunicated.

By the beginning of 1241, the King of Bohemia had once more changed sides, and had gone back to the Papal party. He and the Duke of Bavaria had written letters in behalf of peace, but they privately told the Pope that these letters were only a blind. The Duke begged the Court of Rome to pay no attention to any papers sent in his name, unless they should have his seal in red wax. Nothing can paint more strongly the falseness and treachery of the age. Albert von Beham at the same time remonstrated with Gregory for having written courteously to the Bishop of Ratisbon. 'They call me a fool, because you give the title of Venerable Brethren to the Bishops whom I have excommunicated.' Still, the Pope was eager as ever to strike a blow at Frederick in Germany. He bade his Legate in Hungary direct against the Emperor all the Magyar warriors who had taken the vows for Palestine. Affairs in the Holy Land were hastening to ruin, owing to the fierce civil war in Germany and Italy; the Crusade against the Prussians was suspended on the same account. The Pope's letters, convoking the Council, came into Germany too late. Yet a Legate might

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be sent by way of Hungary, to unite Poland, Bohemia, and Bavaria in one common league in the interest of the Church. This ought to have been done in 1240, as the Duke remarked. A new King might, however, still be elected, which would be a death-blow to the Imperial party. It was of no use to give good advice, if the Pope would not listen to it. If a Legate were not sent, most of the Princes and Prelates of Germany would enter Lombardy in the autumn and aid Frederick. Albert declared that he had sold his books, wasted his estate, and pledged his revenues, to avert this. The attention of the Germans, as it turned out, was called off in another direction, and Lombardy was saved; still, in the spring of 1241, the Papal party in Germany were reduced to despair. Happy for them it was, that none of them set off for Rome, owing to the tardiness of the Papal invitation, which seems to have been at least five months on the road. It was probably a very hard task to escape the watchfulness of the Archbishop of Salzburg.

Spain, France, and England, unlike Germany, attempted to send representatives to Gregory's Council. The heroic Monarch of Arragon had made no objection to the publication of Gregory's Bull against the Emperor. The Italian States had long looked to Zaragoza for aid, and had made a tempting offer. On the 13th of June, 1238, the King laid the business before his Council. A treaty was made with the two envoys, who had come on the part of Milan, Piacenza, Bologna, and Faenza. Don Jayme bound himself to lead 2000 knights into Italy, and to make war upon the Emperor. The allied cities promised to pay 150,000 pounds, and to elect the Arragonese as their

Lord. His anger had been aroused by the treatment of his first cousin, King Henry, who was still pining in the Calabrian prison. But the Crusade against the Spanish Moors prevented the plan from being carried out; and Pope Gregory, who had sent envoys of his own along with those of the Guelf states, could get no help from Arragon.* The connexion between that country and Italy was deferred until forty years later.

The King of Castile, long afterwards enrolled among the Saints as St. Ferdinand, was equally intent on the national Crusade; this was the epoch of the capture by the Christians of Valencia, Cordova, and Seville. The successful Monarch asked the Papacy to grant him the title of Emperor, which had been borne by his forefathers.† But Ferdinand, who had wedded a Hohenstaufen Princess, was a warm partizan of his German rival. Costly presents were constantly passing from Burgos to Haguenau or Foggia. In August, 1239, a number of horses arrived from the King, who, pious though he was, had no scruples in aiding the excommunicated Emperor. The gift, as Frederick wrote, did equal honour to the receiver and the giver. He was prevented by the dangerous state of the roads from sending back a present of jewels to his Castilian connexion, but promised to write again after taking Milan, as he vainly hoped to do. Frederick had long detained the inheritance of Beatrice, the deceased Queen of Castile. Her husband therefore enlisted the Pope on his side; and the Emperor at last pledged himself to give up the property to young Fadrique, the King's second son and

* Zurita. † Alb. Trium Fontium.

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the person rightfully entitled, on condition that the Prince should be sent to Italy, according to the desire expressed by Queen Beatrice on her death-bed. Ferdinand once more asked for the Pope's interest, and sent to Rome the Abbot of San Facondo, who had orders to promote the reconciliation of the Papacy and the Empire. 'He who knows all hearts,' the King of Castile writes to Gregory, 'knows how my heart burns for your honour. For you we fight against heresy and armed foes. We have learnt that the Emperor has sinned much against the Church; still we entreat that the kindness of the Father may receive a repentant son.'* Ferdinand's well-meant efforts failed; but his son, Don Fadrique, arrived at Foggia, where the Court was, in April, 1240.† He remained with his cousin for five years and was destined to play a leading part in Italian politics, on his growing up to man's estate. Frederick wrote in September to the King of Castile, pronouncing the youth to be sound in health and susceptible of all kingly virtues; he declared that the formation of the character and the increase of the property of his ward should be his great object; it was not an uncle, but a father, who was watching over Don Fadrique.‡ In spite of the close alliance between the Emperor and King Ferdinand, the Pope's invitation to Rome met with a warm response from the Spanish Prelates. Several of them arrived at Genoa early in 1241. The Archbishop of Toledo, who could not bear the sea, in vain besought the Papal Legate to travel by land.§ However, in the subse-

* Raynaldus, for 1239. † Ric. San Germano.

‡ Frederick was in reality his first cousin once removed.

§ Gul. de Podio Laurentii.

quent voyage, the Spaniards had better luck than most of their French brethren.

On turning to France, we find that country rising rapidly to its natural place in the European system. The grandfather of the reigning King had laid the foundation of the greatness of France; his valour and wisdom had annexed many a rich province to the Crown, which was at last able to overawe every one of its feudal vassals. The next Monarch had been early cut off in a Crusade against the Albigenses, leaving the reins in the hands of his Queen, Blanche of Castile, 'the Lady of ladies,' as she is called by our English monk. She carried on the great work with masterly strokes of policy; she crippled the Count of Toulouse, thwarted the league of the Counts of Champagne and Brittany, and showed a bold front to the weak King of England. Her son, St. Louis, came of age in 1236, but was long swayed by her counsels. Never was Royalty presented in so fair a guise to the admiration of the world. If the new King had a fault, it was that of being almost too conscientious. Could we forget the intolerance which was prescribed to him by the spirit of the age, the character of St. Louis would be a near approach to perfection. He, far more than the Pope, was the true embodiment of Christianity; its fairest pattern was to be found, not in the Lateran, but in the Louvre.

Though the Crown of France had hitherto been weak, the aggregate of knightly power which her various provinces could bring into the field was enormous. For the last two hundred years, French prowess had carried all before it. It was to this that Rome looked for help, when setting on foot a Crusade

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against the heretics of Languedoc, the schismatics of the Bosphorus, or the Moslem in Palestine. If only these French provinces could be welded into one solid mass, Rome would have a counterpoise to her dreaded Hohenstaufen master; his own Sicily might perhaps become her prize. No wonder then that Pope Gregory did his utmost to uphold the rising Royalty of France. The last insurrection, upon which the great nobles ventured, took place in 1236. That same year, the Crusade was preached for the succour of the Holy Land. Two years later, the Latin Emperor of Constantinople led the flower of the French chivalry to his capital, taking the road through Germany; an expedition which caused Frederick much annoyance. In 1239, those who had taken the vows for Palestine were assembled at Lyons. A messenger came in hot haste from the Pope, forbidding them to start on their voyage. They were disgusted at this fickle conduct of his Holiness, for whose benefit they had done so much, and at whose behest they had made ready. Gregory probably wished to keep them in Europe as a reserve force to be employed against the Emperor; Palestine must be sacrificed to Italy. Frederick on the other hand seemed anxious to get them out of Europe, and wrote to them, promising them a warm reception in Palestine at the hands of his Marshal, Filangieri. Some of them passed the winter of 1239 in Sicily and Apulia, as already stated, and sailed for Palestine in the spring, in spite of the Pope's threat to withhold all indulgences from them.

In October, 1239, Gregory sent a letter by his trusty Legate to King Louis, which is interesting as

proving the reliance Rome was disposed to place upon France. 'As the tribe of Judah was the most warlike and the most faithful in all Israel, so is France among the nations of Europe. She has fought the battle of the Church in Palestine, at Constantinople, and against the Albigenses. Your own father died a martyr in the cause of the Lord, fighting for the Faith against the heretics, not to enlarge his own power. From this blessed Kingdom of France it is that we draw our arrows to shoot against the ungodly. From it our Papal predecessors never failed to derive the aid that they sought. We do not believe that you will fall short of the deeds of your forefathers, since the same sap quickens the root and the branches of the vine. We therefore make known to you the wounds, far worse than those inflicted on Christ at his crucifixion, which Frederick the so-called Emperor is now renewing; who, in order to betray his Lord, does not blush to take part in the divine mysteries which before his excommunication he used to abhor like a Pagan, and who is sending forth lying excuses which may deceive the pious. We could bear his conduct no longer, when he strove to cut down the Faith. We are now sending to you, who are the dearest son of the Church and her special refuge, the Bishop of Palestrina, a great member of the Church of God, as our Legate. If it be well to fight against the Pagans in the Holy Land, far better is it to attack the man who means to root out the Faith. We hope that you will arise as our Champion against the said Frederick, who asserts that Christ never descended into the Virgin's womb. Be not moved then by this man's lies; but give counsel and aid in this strait to the Apostolic See, yea, to God and to the whole

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of the Christian world, that you may earn the everlasting Diadem in the Heavenly mansion.'

Gregory went on to lay a tempting bait before Louis and the Barons. He offered to make young Robert, the King's brother, Emperor in the room of Frederick. But Louis had already sent the Bishop of Langres to re-establish peace in Italy, if possible.* He now rejected the Pope's offers, saying that the present Emperor ought not to be deposed unless by the votes of a General Council. Gregory had, in the King's judgment, done more harm to Christendom than Frederick, an old Crusader, had wrought. The Empire would be too strong for France; still Louis, ever ready to do battle for the Faith, sent special messengers to the accused Monarch, who answered with tears, raising his hands to heaven; 'May the Lord God of vengeance award just retribution to him who has slandered me throughout the world! You did well, my friends, to assure yourselves of the true state of the case, before declaring war upon me.' The French envoys left Frederick, saying; 'We can never attack a Christian without manifest cause; and we do not covet your Crown for Count Robert, since it is enough for him to be brother to an hereditary King, who is higher than any elective Emperor.'

Gregory, foiled by this want of ambition, tried to work upon the nobles. His Legate, the dreaded Bishop of Palestrina, appeared upon the banks of the Rhone, and stirred up a war against Frederick's true ally, the Count of Toulouse. The Count of Provence and his numerous kinsmen began to annoy

* Alb. Trium Fontium.

the unhappy Raymond, who turned savagely upon his foes. Louis flew to the rescue of his Provençal father-in-law, and demanded an explanation from the Emperor. Frederick denied that he had planned any aggression upon the Count of Provence, who had nevertheless proved himself ungrateful for past favours. Meanwhile, the Count of Flanders, one of the six sons of the late Count of Savoy, was attacking the Bishop of Liege, a subject of the Empire, and was wasting much money to no purpose, although he was shielded from the consequences of his folly by King Louis, his feudal Lord.

In spite of all these provocations, the Emperor tried hard to keep on good terms with France. He had furnished the French Crusaders with provisions, and he wrote a compassionate letter on hearing of their overthrow, early in 1240. If they had taken his advice instead of the Pope's, that disaster would never have happened. Still he would use his influence with the Sultan for the release of the captive Pilgrims. This conduct gained him great popularity throughout Christendom. He kept Louis well informed of the progress of the war in Romagna. The Imperial overtures to the French Court were most successful. In vain did Pope Gregory send into France one of the ablest men at his command, James Pecoraria the Cardinal Bishop of Palestrina, who had already acted as Legate in Hungary. This Prelate held three Councils of the French clergy in the year 1240.* He collected so much money, that he is accused of having been the means of breaking off the truce, to which Gregory and Frederick were on the

* Raynaldus.

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point of agreeing. Louis was disgusted at this outrageous conduct on the part of the Legate, and punished him by detaining the whole of the money, which had been wrung in the usual way from the French clergy for the benefit of Rome.*

The loss of this money seems to have been severely felt at the Lateran. We have seen the shifts to which the Emperor had recourse, when the sinews of war were wanting; the Pope was equally hard pressed by his creditors, who pestered him with remorseless cries. He wrote to Cardinal James, detailing this gloomy state of affairs, and begging a loan from the Temple, the Hospital, Cluny, and Prémontré. It should be repaid within six months, when the English subsidies should be handed over to the lenders. The Roman collectors in England should stand bound for the sums so borrowed.† Still the King of France allowed his subjects to serve the Pope in person if not in purse. Many of the highest clergy in the Realm followed the Legate southward, on his way to the expected Roman Council. At Clermont, in March, 1241, Cardinal James had the pleasure of hearing Raymond of Toulouse swear obedience once more to the Church, and promise to help the Pope against Frederick and his heirs. The Count engaged moreover to attend the Council; but on arriving at Marseilles after the departure of his Episcopal tormentors, he heard tidings which caused him to give up his voyage.‡ The clergy, under the guidance of the Cardinal, reached Nice with great trouble and cost; but the Archbishops of Tours and Bourges,

* See M. Paris for French affairs.

† Höfler quotes this document in his Appendix.

‡ Gul. de Podio Laur.

the Bishop of Chartres, and many Proctors, distrusting the strength of the Genoese convoy sent for them, made excuses and turned back.* Young Theobald Visconti was kept in France by illness, in his case no vain pretext.†

The only Kingdom, the state of which remains to be considered, is England. This Thirteenth Century is the period of her true start in the race of freedom; France during the same age was tending steadily towards centralization and Despotism. To accomplish these ends, the Wisdom of Heaven decreed that France should be ruled by a line of able Monarchs; and that England should be entrusted to two Sovereigns, whom she regarded with hatred and scorn, so that the reaction from despotism in favour of aristocracy should be strong enough to defy even Edward the First, on his attempting to revive the old system. For four generations after the battle of Hastings, England had lain at the mercy of foreign despots, all of whom were respected abroad and at home. But about the year 1200, John came to the throne, a monster redeemed from his vices by not one single virtue. Such was the man marked out to be the Founder of the English nation. He soon lost Normandy and many of his other French provinces; it is hard to say whether England or France was the greater gainer by the violent transfer. The Norman nobles were thus driven to cast in their lot with the Saxon churls, and the first result of their union was the Great Charter. It has been maintained for six centuries and a half, in spite of many efforts to annul it; Pope Innocent, to his shame, leading the first

* Barth. Scriba. Nangius. † Vita Gregorii X.

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attack upon it. Yet there are some who tell us that we owe nothing to the Middle Ages! Our next King, Henry the Third, whose history is so interwoven with that of Frederick the Second, was as feeble and faithless a Monarch as ever goaded a long-suffering people into rebellion. His weakness was now and then varied by a burst of rage, directed against some old favourite; and his piety did not prevent him from exercising grievous oppression upon refractory Chapters. Preferring to throw himself into the arms of foreigners rather than to be the man of his people, he leaned upon each successive Pope for support, and gave up his realm to their exactions.* England at this time, like the Israelitish tribe, was a strong ass couching between two burdens, the King and the Pope. Never before or since has Rome enjoyed such power in our island. The reason is plain; before this reign, the Kings of England were so powerful, that it was no light thing to meddle with them, as Hildebrand himself acknowledged. Even the caitiff John struggled on for many years before he could bring himself to bow before Pandulf. On the other hand, after the death of Henry the Third, and indeed before that event, the English Parliament, strengthened by popular support, arose in all its majesty and set bounds to Roman encroachments by passing statute after statute against Papal interests, long before the Reformation. But at the time of which we are now treating there was neither strong King nor strong Parliament; so the Italian priests rioted unchecked in England. Our

* I doubt whether Dante, had he been Henry's subject, would have called him, 'Il Ré della semplice vita.'

early patriots must have often longed to exchange their feeble tyrant for a King like St. Louis. Little did they think that the pious Monarch was by his very virtues unconsciously paving the way for despotic successors, while the English King was by his follies preparing the nation for the development of the best form of government ever known among men.

There was already a strong opposition to the Court, headed by Richard Earl of Cornwall, the King's only brother. Most of the nobles were on the same side, disgusted at the favours heaped upon the Poitevin kinsmen of Henry's mother, and upon the Provençal and Savoyard kinsmen of Henry's wife. The greatest heiresses in the Kingdom were given to these men, and the young English nobles were wedded to the foreign ladies, who were brought to this country as to a marriage market. The clergy were in a state of the greatest discontent. The learned Benedictines saw themselves thrust aside to make way for the two new Orders of begging Friars. The Saxon priests, who had been as forward in support of the Great Charter as the Norman Bishops, were equally aggrieved. These good men have never had honour enough for their line of conduct in these troublous times. They stood shoulder to shoulder with the Barons and burghers in upholding the laws of England. They knew nothing about passive obedience to tyrants, a superstition first brought in by their Protestant successors. It must be remembered, that the clergy ran far greater risk than their lay allies. These latter would often make a compromise and stand aloof, while the Papal Legate was wreaking his vengeance on the priests who had dared

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to prefer the weal of England to the interests of Rome. Enormous fines, in which the King and the Pope went shares, were levied upon the helpless Churchmen. Their representative was Robert Grosseteste, the most renowned Prelate who ever sat in the Chair of Lincoln. This Bishop, learned far above the learning of his time, the most enlightened man in an age of darkness, was a bold champion of the rights of his Church and nation, and bearded Pope and King alike. At a time when the English tongue was held in scorn as a low jargon, he made use of it to put to shame the greediness of intrusive foreigners.* He trained up young Simon de Montfort to follow in his steps; though this noble was long a mere Courtier. Many famous Prelates adorned England in the Thirteenth Century; some of them built the Cathedrals, still the pride of the land; some lie entombed in the costly monuments which began about this time to be erected; many of them showed great talent in civil business; some went on the Crusade; some were canonized for their virtues; but two alone of them all live in the memory of posterity, Stephen Langton and Robert Grosseteste.

One other Churchman claims a tribute of grateful remembrance. A monk was at this time busy in the Scriptorium of St. Albans, who held the pen destined to record the struggles of our infant freedom during these unquiet times. His fairness, his knowledge of the world, his copious details, his minuteness in

* Surrexit et confessus est Anglicè, flexis genibus, coram personis præsentatis sibi à Cardinalibus, et tundebat pectus suum cum fletu et ejulatu, et sic confusi recesserunt. — *Thomas de Eccleston.*

recording particulars, and his information derived from the highest in the land, raise Brother Matthew Paris above all the contemporary crowd of Chroniclers. Those can best appreciate him, who have gone through the very inferior records of France, Germany, and Italy. Happily for us, he has bestowed unusual care upon all connected with the great Hohenstaufen struggle.*

The influence of England had at first been exerted against the Emperor Frederick. King John had backed his own nephew Otho from the outset of his career, and remained true to him down to the year 1216. He sent him 9000 marks after Frederick's coronation at Mayence, and employed the gallant Earl of Salisbury and Walter de Gray, the future Archbishop of York, as ambassadors to Germany. Henry the Third followed the same policy, when Frederick was excommunicated in 1227. He assured the Emperor indeed of his sympathy; but he was very soon intriguing with the Papal Court to procure the elevation of his own kinsman, Otho the younger of Brunswick, to the Throne.† He made no resistance to the extortions practised upon his clergy by the Roman Legate in 1229, in order to furnish John de Brienne with the sinews of war for the Apulian campaign. But the nobles soon afterwards entered into a league to resist the intrusive Roman clergy, who in the year 1232 were pillaged and driven to seek refuge in the convents. Hubert de Burgh and

* Cardinal Baronius says, referring to Matthew's Chronicle; 'Take away from the book the calumnies, invectives, and blasphemies against the Apostolic See, so often repeated; and you may indeed call it a golden monument.'

† Rymer.

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Robert de Twenge were the leaders of this revolt on the part of the laity; the Pope wrote to King Henry, declaring that Nero's cruelties were being revived in England.* In the same year, the Poitevin Bishop of Winchester rose to power, after causing the ruin of Hubert de Burgh; the native English were soon replaced by foreigners in all offices of trust. This speedily caused a rebellion, which was headed by the Earl Marshal. Edmund, the new Archbishop of Canterbury, restored peace in 1234, and procured the dismissal of the foreigners. In the next year, Isabella of England was given to the Emperor.† King Henry himself very shortly afterwards wedded Eleanor, the daughter of the Count of Provence, and brought fresh shoals of foreigners into the land; of these the Bishop of Valence, uncle to the Queen, was the most disliked. The English contrasted the behaviour of their Sovereign with that of the Emperor and the King of France, who never allowed their wives or connexions to drain their realms of money. Simony and usury were at this time openly practised; low and illiterate knaves, armed with bulls from Rome, grew fat upon the revenues of the English Church and sent vast sums of money out of the country; any appeal to a higher authority was sure to be followed by excommunication or suspension; the greatest rascality was practised by the begging Friars while preaching the Crusade. A Legate appeared in England in 1237, a guest whom King Henry had been foolish enough to invite without taking the advice of his nobles.‡ For this post Gregory had

* De Wendover. Rymer. † De Wendover.
‡ M. Paris.

chosen Otho of Montferrat, Cardinal Deacon of St. Nicholas in the Tullian Prison, known in Italy as the White Cardinal.* This man had been employed in stirring up Germany against the Emperor in 1229, and in calming the fears of the Lombard League in 1232. He seems to have been far more honest and upright than most of his brother Legates, yet even he soon provoked the wrath of all true English patriots. Otho began by making peace between the nobles, and refused several presents. He afterwards met the King of Scotland at York, and was warned by him of the danger of entering the sister Kingdom, a land of untameable and bloodthirsty men. Late in the year, Otho held a Council of all the English clergy in St. Paul's, where he gave the Archbishop of Canterbury precedence over his brother of York. One of the Legate's decrees was aimed at the marriage of the clergy, which seems to have continued even up to this time; another enactment forbade them to keep concubines. Otho prevented the Papacy from recalling him in 1238, in which year he rendered a great service to his patron King Henry, by secretly counteracting the plans of the party headed by Richard of Cornwall. The Earl pointed in vain to the good example set by the Emperor, who had sent home the English attendants of his Empress, without bestowing upon them either lands or money. A civil war would have broken out, had not Simon de Montfort, at this time a courtier, humbled himself before Earl Richard and quitted England.

The Legate was now introduced to a new phase of English life. He was on a visit to Oxford, which

* Malespini.

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was at that time adorned by the talents of Roger Bacon and Adam de Marisco, and which had but just lost Edmund Rich and Robert Grosseteste. A riot was raised by the scholars, infuriated at the insolence of the Roman menials; and Otho fled by night from his lodgings in Oseney Abbey across the fords of the Isis, assailed as a simoniacal usurer. He hastened to the King, laid Oxford under an interdict, and had thirty of the scholars brought in carts up to London. After an abject apology on the part of the University, the Legate deigned to pardon them. He next regulated the Chapter of Canterbury, and set at nought upon every occasion the authority of the good Archbishop. In 1239, Otho made one more attempt to return to Rome, but was again withheld by the King's entreaties, Henry being unwilling to face his angry nobles unsupported. The fickle Monarch soon changed his mind, on being asked by the Legate to aid in ransoming Peter the Saracen, a noble Roman citizen, out of the Emperor's hands. This year, Otho, although not a priest, baptized Henry's first-born, the future conqueror of Wales and Scotland, four days after the infant's birth. The Cardinal travelled into the North, and stopping at St. Albans on his way, excommunicated the Emperor, as he had often already done in St. Paul's.

The conduct of the Roman clergy was becoming more and more oppressive. Robert de Twenge, the bold Yorkshireman who had already opposed them, was now fain to make another journey to Rome, in order to establish his right of patronage to a certain Church, which they were trying to wrest from him. The Bishops declared that they could scarcely breathe, such were the extortions of the Legate, who

was now exacting much money. The King was equally severe upon the clergy, especially in the diocese of Winchester. Early in 1240, they laid a spirited remonstrance before him and the Legate. About this time the Emperor sent two envoys to Henry, and reproached him for allowing the excommunication to be published in England, this being a breach of the treaty of 1235. He also demanded the expulsion of Otho from the realm. The King in reply meekly acknowledged his vassalage to the Pope. At the same time he enraged Gregory by writing in favour of Frederick. Simon the Norman, seeing the wrath of the Pope at King Henry's fickleness, declared that there was scarcely any one Englishman who ought to be trusted; a speech which drew down upon him the rebuke of the patriotic Cardinal Summercote. Henry secretly tried to get rid of the Legate. 'You invited me hither from my Court,' remarked Otho, 'and I demand of you a safe-conduct for my return.' He now absolved the English Crusaders from their vows on receiving money at their hands, and found his most useful agents in the Dominicans and Franciscans. The King was thoroughly overawed. 'I dare not, and I wish not to withstand the Pope in aught,' said he, when a fresh outrage on the part of Gregory had kindled the anger of the English nobles. To these Frederick addressed a spirited remonstrance; 'We know not what can induce you and your King to connive at the Pope's sentence against ourselves being published throughout your land. What is worse, you allow large sums of money to be carried out of your country to the Roman Court. You were wont to be freemen; you are now slaves. Ah God! would Henry

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the Elder or King Richard have borne this? We shall be driven to treat our brother-in-law and ourselves as our enemies. If you will not be our allies in this business, at least you ought not to inspire us with fear. We beg you to weigh this matter well; we are sending a knight to your King and to you, that he may bring back your answer.'

The English nobles were assembled at Reading, where Otho preached a long sermon before them, and tried to persuade them to give up the fifth part of their revenues to his Holiness for the Italian war. Richard of Cornwall, shocked at the misery of his country, betook himself to the Crusade. The Archbishop of Canterbury yielded in despair to the Legate's demands, and the other Prelates followed this example. The Emperor wrote again to the King of England, urging him to allow no more money to be sent out of the island for the benefit of the Milanese rebels, hinting at reprisals. Henry replied in his old style, wondering at the same time why his sister Isabella was not crowned as Empress in the customary places. He also gave aid to the rebellious Counts of Flanders and Provence. The Pope now sent orders to the English Prelates, to provide for three hundred Romans in the first vacant benefices. Edmund, the Archbishop of Canterbury, fled from his post and took up his abode at Pontigny, the refuge of Becket. He had hoped that Pope Gregory would defend him against Henry the Third, as Pope Alexander had defended St. Thomas against Henry the Second. But the times were changed, and Gregory knew that the Papacy had nothing to fear from the present King of England, who was more amenable to Rome than the Primate was.

Edmund shortly afterwards died and was canonized; a Hall at Oxford still bears the name of Becket's feeble imitator.

A new Roman agent, Peter Rosso, was now sent into England, who wrung money from the various Chapters by pretending that other Bishops and Abbots had already paid; he exacted at the same time a promise of secresy. Two Abbots complained to the King, that they were not allowed even to cry out while their throats were being cut. Henry turned to the Legate and bade him imprison the disobedient grumblers. 'The wolf and the shepherd,' said a jester, 'are making a league; the sheep will soon be slaughtered.' The Bishops, assembled at Northampton, flatly refused to contribute any money, since it was asked for the purpose of shedding Christian blood. The Berkshire parsons, when called upon in their turn, sturdily alleged that they ought not to contribute money for the war against the Emperor, since the Church had not pronounced him to be a heretic. Rome had no right to tax the Churches of England, though she might protect them. Christ was the owner, Peter was only the care-taker. It was nowhere said; 'Whatsoever thou shalt exact on earth shall be exacted in heaven.' The English Churches, not so wealthy now as of yore, could scarcely maintain their own poor, and their revenues should not be spent in making war on Christians. Scandal ought to be avoided, and no precedent for taxation ought to be established. It would be foolish in England to attack the mighty Empire. If the clergy were to contribute, their patrons, the nobles of England, would lose a part of their rights. The French had not yet paid their

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share. The Church lost more than she gained by these extortions, which ran counter to the indulgences already granted to Crusaders. England was now sending men and money to the Holy Land; it was too bad to impoverish her still further. She had never been called upon to contribute by former Popes, when they were driven into banishment by tyrannical Emperors; and she was poorer now than she had been. A heretic, who was examined about this time, caused the Legate to change colour, by asking; 'How can a man, guilty of simony and usury, be supposed to have the power that was granted to the virtuous Peter?'

In the mean time the Earls of Cornwall and Salisbury, undeterred by the previous failure of the French Crusaders, started for Palestine. They met with a kind reception from the King of France and the Count of Provence, but were astonished at being forbidden by the Pope to set sail. 'Here is the Vicar of Christ,' said Earl Richard, 'preventing my embarkation, after I have sent on before me my money and arms, and loaded my ships with provisions.' The Earl, however, sailed from Marseilles, sending Robert de Twenge to the Emperor with the news of the cunning devices of his Holiness.

The Legate Otho was now summoned to Rome for the impending Council. Rosso came from Scotland with three thousand pounds; and twenty-four more Romans were brought into England to be provided with benefices. Late in the year, Otho called the whole body of the clergy before him in London, and seduced them into compliance with his wishes. The Emperor wrote to England, warning the clergy not to go to the Council at Rome. 'Car-

dinal Otho,' said he, 'has drained the country of its money, which has been poured out by its Prelates to do me wrong; it would be absurd in me to allow them to be my judges, especially as they are bound to the Pope, their liege Lord.' Yet we are told, that at this very time Frederick loved the English above all other nations, for the sake of his enchanting Empress.

On Christmas day, King Henry knighted the Legate's nephew, and gave him a pension of thirty pounds. At the breakfast which followed, in Westminster Palace, the English were disgusted to see the King place Otho in his own Royal seat, and meekly take a lower place on the Churchman's right. Otho had indeed cause to triumph; he had not been four years in the Kingdom, in which time he had given away more than three hundred rich benefices, and had extorted more money than he left behind him. He was the wild boar of the woods, who had laid waste the English vineyard. He travelled to Dover, attended by Henry and many of the nobles in great pomp, to the sound of trumpets. The Legate's departure was mourned by few besides his Royal entertainer; the King went home to receive with open arms the last-arrived foreigner, Peter of Savoy, whose brother Boniface was immediately forced into the See of Canterbury; another Savoyard, Aquablanca, had been already installed in that of Hereford. None of the English Prelates seem to have followed Otho to the Council; the Bishop of Norwich, indeed, and a few besides set out for Rome, but prudently loitered on their journey, allowing the other travellers to start before them.* A letter had been sent round the world,

* M. Paris.

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addressed to all those summoned by the Pope, the contents of which might well strike terror into the heart of any landsman. The writer is evidently at enmity with the Emperor, yet at the same time he does not scruple to thwart the Pope's darling project. 'You may expect,' says he, 'bread indigestible and baked twice over, wine shaken by the sea, and water full of worms, to drink which you must keep your eyes and teeth shut. The wind may drive you to barbarous coasts, where you cannot make yourselves understood, and where you may be enthralled for ever. If once the tackle of your ship is knocked to pieces by a sudden storm, there is no escape for you. You may come across pirates, or you may run upon a rock while entering the harbour. You may be driven away from port, and be famished while beating about at the mercy of the winds.' Here follows a description of sea-sickness and other nuisances entailed by a voyage, too true to the minutest details to be quoted. 'You are forced to bear things from a stranger, which you would not bear from your own father, if on land. Disease carries off numbers, all packed together. If some metals lose their colour when plunged in the sea, it is the same with human nature. There is constant motion, no rest, and in a word, every evil. Your voyage is forbidden by a most cruel tyrant, master of the sea and land, merciless and vicious, a Herod or a Nero, who can launch his piratical galleys from Pisa, Corneto, Naples, and Gaeta. He is a man of wonderful cunning, and may bribe your crew to land you in his ports. He who does not spare his own captive son will not spare you. Suppose that by some unexpected chance you reach Rome;

you are there exposed to civil broils, to unbearable heat, to putrid water, to countless flies and scorpions, and to poisonous reptiles. Scarcely ten out of a thousand of those who sojourn at Rome escape with life. How do you expect to get home? The Roman nobles are on good terms with your enemy, and will deliver you into his hands. You return to the sea, and cannot escape its power, being neither gods nor saints. If you die, you lose all hope of redress. If the Legate persuades you to set out, remember that he has not to make the return voyage, while you will have to undergo a two-fold danger. Consider, moreover, whether he who summons you is acting rationally, or is kindled with the fire of love; he lives at home in ease, and exposes you to these dangers; it would be better if he came to meet you. If he calls you to him for the good of the Church, what greater affliction can befall her, than to lose you? Now, mark the reason he gives for his summons; he wishes to be supported by your advice in certain great dangers. His tyrannical enemy is fair enough to forewarn you of the evils you run, but the Pope merely insists on the virtue of obedience. What business has the Apostolic See on its hands except to oppose a rebellious Prince? How can we infer any holy purpose, if the secret be carefully kept from the world? If he wishes to be helped by you in making an end of his quarrel with a cruel and mighty Prince, the Pope began the war without taking your advice; he might have asked for your counsels in writing. He desires to make use of you in deposing the Emperor at his own will, and he seeks to play upon you like organs at the pleasure of the organist. If a new Emperor be set

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up, you will have to spend enormous sums in upholding your common candidate, as is hinted in the Pope's invitation. He has, indeed, warily kept this project to himself, until he has you in his power. If you be weak enough to obey, you will prefer a man to God, not God to man; and the Pope will keep you in his chains for ever. I fear too, that some of you will be led by ambition or covetousness to subject yourselves and the whole Church to unsupportable dangers. Upon the whole, I think that disobedience is preferable to death, unless the reason for obedience be clear and necessary.'

Preparations had long been making at Genoa for the illustrious guests expected from England, France, and Spain. In the year 1240, the Pope had made Gregory of Romagna his Legate at Genoa. This envoy, who must not be confounded with the far abler Legate in Lombardy, began operations by preaching a Crusade against all foes of the Church, remitting the sins of those who took up arms for her, as though they had been making the voyage to Palestine. The Genoese, inspirited by his preaching, brought under their yoke the whole of the Riviera, except Savona and Albenga. Their Podesta bade defiance to the Emperor's Vicars, Lancia and Pallavicino, who were always on the watch to damage the great Guelf seaport, and who were now aided by the treacherous Marquess of Carretto.* In October, the Pope sent orders to his Legate at Genoa, by a Cistercian monk, to begin preparations for the transport of the Prelates to Rome. He was, if possible, to make a bargain for the ships, and to beat down

* Barth. Scriba, Ann. Genuen.

the usual price; the Podesta and the Archbishop were to preserve the utmost secrecy, lest the affair should come to the ears of Frederick. Payment was to be made with the money collected by the Cardinal Legate in France; the Pope had determined that his Bishops should travel by sea, and not by land, in order to show his confidence in Genoa. Early in December, Gregory of Romagna was able to announce that he had arranged all, after surmounting great opposition. The Genoese had insisted on being paid a thousand marks down, part of which was made up by pledging the Church lands in the Riviera to money-lenders. The Genoese Council agreed to furnish ten well-armed galleys. On board each of these were to be 134 seamen, 30 men at arms, and 10 crossbowmen, each of whom was to be equipped with one crossbow of wood, and another of horn. Besides the galleys, Genoa was to furnish ten transports, every one of which was to be guarded by 25 men at arms, and 50 attendants. 3550 pounds were paid over by the Legate. The State, moreover, undertook to have in readiness six galleys and ten transports, besides those already bespoken, in case the Pope might plan an attack upon Sicily.

The year 1241 at last came, and all eyes were fixed upon the expected Council at Rome. It was even hoped that that stiff-necked Ghibelline, the Patriarch of Aquileia, who had refused to excommunicate the Emperor, and who had dared to take part in the holy mysteries after his own excommunication, would now prove docile to the Pope; for Gregory bade his Milanese Legate go to Venice and absolve the Patriarch, if Berthold should really set

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out on the journey to Rome. The Royal nephews of the offender, Bela and Coloman, had persuaded the Pope to adopt mild measures with their uncle. King Bela himself looked coldly upon the invitations of the Lateran. Gregory thus writes to him in February: 'If you are the son of the Church, her special son, you are bound to rise in her defence. We have summoned a Council, and you ought not to raise any difficulties. You have sent letters to us, excusing the non-attendance of the Hungarian Prelates, and you speak of the dangers of the road, it being in the hands of the enemy; we will send messengers to provide for the safety of those who undertake the journey.' The Archbishop of Gran was ordered to start for Rome, together with his brethren; but the Hungarians had other business on their hands.* The Germans were in the same plight.

In the mean time Frederick, encamped before Faenza, had determined to prevent the Transalpine Prelates from sailing to Rome. Late in the previous year he heard of the death of his trusty Admiral, Nicholas Spinola. After writing to console the kinsmen of the deceased, he offered the vacant office to another Genoese, Ansaldo di Mari. This man accordingly fled from Genoa, and formed a plan for sailing to Nice and seizing the Prelates there.† Through the whole of February, Sicily and Apulia were equipping galleys for a great naval enterprise. 'Our lieges have suffered enough from Genoese pirates;' thus Frederick writes to his harbour-masters; 'you must compel, if it be needful, the men of the coast to fit out galleys, without our being put to expense. The mer-

* Raynaldus for 1241. † Barth. Scriba, Ann. Genuen.

chants of each town, whose interests are at stake, must equip two or three galleys and barks. If they are slack, use force for their own good; we allow the money of our Treasury to be employed in the work. Let the Officials you appoint be just in apportioning the burden, or we will punish you. The vessels you build must make no delay in port, but must cruise about.' By March, the galleys were ready, and were sent to Pisa. The coasts of the Kingdom were defended by knights, ordered out for the purpose.* About this time, the Pisans, who had no great liking for the work which the Emperor was about to throw upon them, despatched envoys to entreat the Genoese not to convey the expected Prelates to Rome. Pisa was under orders, and must obey Frederick. Genoa made answer, that she herself was bound to obey the Church, and must fulfil her promise to Pope Gregory. The two great states were thus compelled to fight, unwilling though they might be. James Malocello, the new Admiral of the Genoese, sailed to Provence, and brought the Prelates with their horses and property to Genoa. Some of them declined the voyage and went home, sending Proctors to represent them at Rome. The bolder ones all arrived at Genoa in April, and were quartered in the Archbishop's Palace; the Lombard envoys also appeared. The Pope commended the zeal of his Genoese Legate, but had already in a letter expressed his fear that thirty-two vessels would not be enough to convoy the holy freight. Let Gregory of Romagna take the advice of the Patriarch of Jerusalem and the other Prelates, then at Genoa. But this counsel was thrown away upon

* Ric. San Germano.

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the rash Legate. To most observers the aspect of affairs must have seemed threatening. News came that sixteen of Frederick's galleys had already reached Civita Vecchia, and that more were on their way. His partizans at Genoa were openly uttering threats, and were gnashing their teeth in the Council; all of which boded ill to the Guelfs. Pallavicino and Marino of Eboli, the Emperor's Vicars, were renewing their destructive inroads. Their master had sent off a letter from Faenza late in March to Grillo and Striggiaporco, whom he called the Captains of his loyal Genoese, encouraging the Ghibellines to make fresh efforts. But, as the Genoese Annalist remarks, it pleased God to preserve the state. The Emperor's letter, sealed with his own seal, was discovered enclosed in a cake of wax. William Sordo, the wise Podesta for this eventful year, thought it best to keep the discovery a secret until the Prelates had sailed from Genoa. Many of the Guelf nobles, who had been marked out for slaughter, as it now appeared, begged the Podesta to say nothing about the letter. The Ghibellines on the other hand, in great alarm, began to fortify their houses and towers, the Dorias and Spinolas setting the example. Affairs soon came to a crisis. A Florentine was rescued from the Podesta's grasp; a Parliament was held in San Lorenzo, and the Guelfs shouted, 'Let the traitors die!' The banner of St. George was hoisted in the Piazza, and all good citizens took up arms against the rebels, calling the sailors in the fleet to their aid. One of the Spinolas was killed, after his house had been stormed; the Dorias were made to swear allegiance to the Podesta.*

* Barth. Scriba.

The great naval enterprize was at last undertaken. The Cardinals, Prelates, and clergy, together with the envoys from Genoa, Milan, Piacenza, Brescia, and Bologna, quitted their shelter, and began their voyage to Rome amid the braying of trumpets. The twenty-seven galleys, which bore the precious freight, sailed first to Porto Delfino for news of the enemy; the Admiral, anxious to display his prowess, wished to land and attack Pallavicino; but the more prudent Cardinals forbade. At Porto Venere they heard that Frederick had twenty-seven galleys of his own at Pisa, and that many others were being armed. In spite of this, the Admiral, whose rashness was incurable, sailed out boldly from Porto Venere. He would not cruise round Corsica as he was advised, but passed the mouth of the Arno and the island of Elba in safety; when he was off the southern extremity of Tuscany, he fell in with the enemy between the islands of Giglio and Monte Cristo, on the 3rd of May. The Pisans and Sicilians, who had sent forth in all sixty-seven galleys under the command of King Enzio and Admiral Buzaccherini, greatly outnumbered the Genoese. These latter were besides encumbered by their freight; the landsmen, who attended the Prelates, were of little use in battle. The ill-starred enterprize could have but one ending; although at the outset Fortune seemed to smile on the Guelfs, who sank three Pisan galleys, and struck off the heads of all they found on board. Out of twenty-seven Genoese ships only five got off, which happened to be laden with the Spanish Prelates. The Abbot of Savigny contrived to escape, thanks to the aid of his gallant brother John of Lexington, the envoy of the English King. Malocello the Admiral,

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and Romeo, the well-known minister of the Count of Provence, were also able to fly. But the Archbishop of Besançon and two thousand soldiers, sailors, and priests were killed or drowned; four thousand were made prisoners by the Ghibellines. Much treasure was taken; England, as it now seemed, had been fleeced by the Pope's orders, merely to increase the resources of the Emperor. Among the captives were the three Legates from England, France, and Genoa; the Archbishops of Bourdeaux, Rouen, and Auch; the Bishops of Carcassonne, Agde, Nismes, Tortona, Asti, and Pavia; the Abbots of Citeaux, Cluny, Clairvaux, Mercy-Dieu, Foix, and Fécamp; with more than a hundred Proctors. These were all kept at sea for some time in a very wretched plight; they were then brought to Pisa in triumph, and were afterwards locked up by King Enzio in the strong Castle of San Miniato, laden with chains.* Frederick was overjoyed at the rich prize that had fallen into his hands; he was especially delighted at having his arch-enemy, the Bishop of Palestrina, safe in the Tuscan dungeon. He sent Walter of Ocra to England with the news of what he called a Divine judgment. He had now three Roman Legates in his power; he was, as he boasted, very near capturing a fourth; for Montelongo at the head of the Milanese had just lost a great battle to the Pavians, leaving three hundred and fifty knights in the hands of the enemy, besides the Banner of the Keys and that of Milan. Everything seemed at this time to prosper with the Emperor. Italy was overawed by

* Chronicon, Barth. Scriba, M. Paris, and the letters of the year. Also the Croniche di Pisa and the letters in Raynaldus.

the surrender of Faenza, and by the disasters which had befallen Genoa and Milan; Germany made but little resistance; Albert von Beham and the Duke of Bavaria felt that their influence was now at its lowest ebb.

The Pope saw the overthrow of all his schemes, one after another. Venice could give him no help, her attention being called off by the revolt of Zara. His beloved children, whom he had summoned to his Council, were shipped off from Pisa to Naples. The reverend Fathers seem to have been packed together like African slaves on the Middle Passage; they underwent torments from the flies, the heat of an Italian summer, and the insults of the boisterous sailors. Many of them breathed their last in the Apulian prisons to which they were consigned.* The Pope sent them a letter of consolation, throwing the whole blame of the disaster upon the heedlessness of Gregory of Romagna, who had underrated the strength of the Ghibellines. 'We mourn over you;' thus wrote the Holy Father late in July; 'Joseph is not, Simeon is kept in chains, and little Benjamin is taken away; we do not forget you, but we think of remedies for your woes.'† There was no help to be expected from the Apulians, who could not offer the slightest resistance to their Hohenstaufen master. His Viceroy, Andrew of Cicala, summoned all the Prelates of the Kingdom to Melfi in June, and exacted from them the gold, silver, jewels, silks, and other treasures of their Churches.‡ The Emperor had gained much money by his late naval victory; but

* M. Paris. † Raynaldus.
‡ Ric. San Germano.

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a further supply was wanted. Overwhelmed by the disasters of 1241, Gregory once more mentioned the word peace. In a letter to the Duke of Carinthia written in June, he declared himself ready to open his bosom to the Emperor, if repentant. But Frederick wrote in a most unrepentant spirit to the Roman Senate, announcing his march towards the Capital.

Besides the dangers threatening from outside, there was no slight pressure from within. The Sacred College was not of one mind. Of all the Cardinals, John Colonna was the most distinguished as a diplomatist and as a warrior; he had been honourably employed both by Honorius and Gregory, and had commanded a Papal army in the foray into Apulia in 1229. Late in 1240, he had almost succeeded in making a truce between the Pope and the Emperor. His Lord, however, hearing that fresh supplies of money were coming in from France, quashed all the negotiations. 'We Cardinals,' said John, 'are not common persons, to carry the news of such fickle conduct to the Emperor. I object to the whole scheme.' 'I no longer consider you as my Cardinal,' answered Gregory. 'And I,' said John 'will no longer esteem you as Pope.'* In January, 1241, the Cardinal executed his threat. He fortified his Castle of Lagosta in the city, and several others which he had without the walls.†

It is worth our while to bestow some attention upon the noble House of Colonna, one of the greatest that Europe has ever seen. It makes its first appearance in the middle of the Eleventh Century, a period beyond which very few families can be

* M. Paris. † Ric. San Germano.

traced with certainty. It probably took its name from the village of Colonna near Rome, in which stood a solitary pillar, a relic of old times. The members of the family had their own political views, to which they stuck with remarkable constancy for five centuries. Their line of conduct, an heirloom handed down from father to son, was simply this; opposition to the reigning Pope. In the very beginning of the Twelfth Century we find them arrayed against Pope Paschal the Second, the most peaceable of all St. Peter's successors. Later in the century, Pope Celestine the Third offered to abdicate, if he might appoint a Colonna in his place; but the Cardinals, aware of the hereditary temper of the family, refused to entrust the helm to such guidance in such perilous times. Our history is mainly concerned with Cardinal John, who became an invaluable ally to the Emperor Frederick in 1241. Fifty years afterwards, Pope Nicholas the Fourth allowed himself to be a mere tool of the Colonnas, and was caricatured as standing with a column on either side. If they could not rule the Pope, they broke out into rebellion. Boniface the Eighth upbraided them with their adherence to 'Frederick of damned memory,' whom he could well remember; he razed their Castles to the ground, drove them into banishment, and left them no stronghold but their own stout hearts. They took a fearful revenge and shattered the high claims of the Popedom for ever. They were in all their glory in the Fourteenth Century, when Petrarch hails their chief as the noble Column of Italy, which bears and snakes in vain long to overthrow. They had however to bow before Rienzi, when the Tribune took the place of the

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Popes and revived the days of the Gracchi. Early in the Fifteenth Century, a Colonna was placed in St. Peter's Chair by the Council of Constance. He showed himself as skilful in policy, as his forefathers had been valiant in arms; for he cheated the blundering Transalpines out of the reforms, for which they had in vain called. Towards the end of the Century, Sixtus the Fourth persecuted the Colonnas with savage cruelty. At the outset of the Sixteenth Century, they endeavoured to dethrone Clement the Seventh, and to set up in his place Cardinal Pompey, one of themselves. They became thorough-going partizans of Charles the Fifth, an Emperor in whom the spirit of Frederick the Second seemed to live again. Prospero Colonna, better known as Pescara, was one of the chief instruments employed to rivet the Habsburg yoke upon the neck of wretched Italy. In the next generation, Mark Antony Colonna was the zealous abettor of grim Alva in the famous march of the Spaniards on Rome. Paul the Fourth declared that the Colonnas, 'those incorrigible rebels against God and the Church,' had always contrived to regain their Castles, however often deprived of them. But even the stern Caraffa Pope was forced to receive back his hated enemies at the end of the war. Mark Antony Colonna cemented the late peace between his family and Rome by leading the Papal contingent on the glorious day of Lepanto; the grateful Pius the Fifth loaded his champion with honours, as the Colonna Palace at Rome still bears witness. From this time the family seem to have abandoned their old policy; they contented themselves with reflecting on the fact, that for ages no peace had been made between the Princes of Christendom, in which the

Colonnas and Orsini had not been included by name. They must have looked down with lofty scorn upon the upstart Borghesi and Barberini.*

The great man of the Colonnas in 1241 was Cardinal John, described by the English Chronicler as a vessel full of all kinds of pride and insolence, whose revolt threw Pope Gregory the Ninth into fresh difficulties. Frederick wrote to his new clerical ally in the summer, excusing himself for his seeming cowardice in past years. He had been long silently laying the foundations of his power; he would now redeem the past by noble achievements. Strange it was, he thought, that a Cardinal and a priest should have occasion to give warlike advice to one who was a Knight and a Roman Emperor. 'The Book of Kings,' wrote Frederick to Colonna, 'must now be our study; you must have nought to do with Leviticus or the Song of Songs. We have found in you a man after our own heart, and we shall honour and love you accordingly.'

It was in June that the Emperor quitted Faenza, and marched Southwards with his army of Germans and Italians, leaving King Enzio to command in Romagna. Spoleto and Terni, which had withstood the Imperial Eagles the year before, now threw open their gates. On the other hand, Fano, Assisi, Narni, and Rieti were staunch to the Pope, and therefore saw their lands ravaged.† Frederick in vain strove to entice the Roman Senate over to his side. He sent to it the news of a fearful danger coming upon Christendom from the North-East, tidings which the

* For the Colonnas, see Gibbon, Milman, and Von Ranke.

† Ric. San Germano.

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Hungarian Bishop of Waitzen had just brought. This danger Augustus was quite ready to face, but was unwilling to set out, until the Pope should become reasonable. 'We remember,' wrote Frederick, 'that when we sailed to Palestine, that dearest Father of ours invaded our Kingdom with a host of Milanese rebels. The future may be like the past. If we come to him, and if he sees our devotion and power close at hand, a remedy may be found. Do you then, Conscript Fathers, exert every means to succour us, even in case the Roman Pontiff should be careless of our common weal and of the Christian Faith; especially since God is willing, not only to protect, but to increase the Roman Empire. For the King of Hungary has placed his Realm under our sway, in the hope of being defended from his foes by Cæsar's shield.' Frederick wrote to his new Royal vassal in the like strain. 'God has so blessed our efforts, that we hope soon to make an end of the whole Italian business. Still we fear, that should we come to your help at this moment, the Pope, our household enemy, will do as he did once before. We are marching on the City, meaning to be content with the old and hereditary rights of the Empire. We should have obtained peace long ago, had not the man, with whom we must deal, been so obstinate. We hope to come to you speedily, with the blessing of the Church, well furnished with men and money.'

The Pope, aware of the awful dangers overhanging Christendom, and thoroughly disheartened by the blows that had already fallen upon himself, despatched a Dominican Prior to Frederick with fresh overtures of peace. The Church would welcome

back her son, if he would only submit himself with lowly and contrite heart. Orders were sent from Rome to the envoy to return along with the Emperor. Towards the end of July, Peter de Vinea wrote to a friend in rather hopeful terms; 'Our great powers, who have hitherto been hurling their darts at each other from afar, will soon glue their lips together in the kiss of peace. We have broken up our assembly at Rieti, and we are going to Tivoli, to behold Rome from a nearer distance.' Andrew of Cicala, after having safely bestowed the captive Prelates at Salerno, rejoined his master with a seasonable supply of men and money. Frederick soon reached Tivoli; while Cardinal Colonna, who had asked for help, withdrew to the neighbouring Palestrina, a stronghold of the family. Some knights from the Kingdom were forthwith despatched to the aid of the warlike Churchman. Lagosta, his Castle in Rome, was stormed after a short siege by one of the rival Orsini, Matthew Rosso, whom Gregory had made Senator.*

One more effort was made for peace. Richard, the Earl of Cornwall, returning from an unwarlike Crusade, had landed at Trapani in Sicily, had enjoyed free intercourse with his sister the Empress by Frederick's order, and was at this time in the Imperial camp. Richard, if we may believe his political opponents in England, was a wily and intriguing statesman.† He was now sent to the Pope,

* Ric. San Germano. Matthew was the father of Pope Nicholas III.

† 'Richard, thah thou be ever trichard,
Tricken shalt thou never more.'
Song on the Battle of Lewes.

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armed with full powers to make a treaty. He carried with him a paper sealed with the seal of the Empire, by which Frederick bound himself to abide by whatever conditions the Earl might name. The Ambassador was astonished to find that his late exploits in Palestine were of no avail to disarm the insolence of the Roman mob, or to conciliate his Holiness. Gregory insisted on the Emperor's submitting himself absolutely to the commands of the Church, and prescribed an oath to that effect. Earl Richard refused to listen to such outrageous demands, and returned in disgust to his brother-in-law. 'I am glad,' said the Emperor, 'that you have learnt by experience the truth of what we told you beforehand.' *

Gregory's sand was now almost run. The enemy marched from Tivoli towards Rome, which they did not feel themselves strong enough to attack. Passing through the village of Colonna, Frederick stormed and burnt Montalbano, and many other Castles. In the middle of August he took Monteforte, which Gregory had so carefully fortified. All the Pope's nephews and kinsmen, found therein, were hanged; and the Emperor left one of the towers of the Castle half destroyed, as a memorial of his revenge. This last blow proved fatal to Gregory. The war, which was now brought so nigh to his own gates, had cut him off from all his old pleasures and enjoyments. He could no longer entertain his friends at his hospitable board at Anagni, no longer preach in the open air to thronging multitudes at Assisi, no longer resort to the baths of Viterbo, so necessary to his

* M. Paris.

aged frame. Pent up within the walls of Rome, he found the burning heat too much for him.* He died on the 21st of August, after having filled the Chair of St. Peter for more than fourteen years.† He left the affairs of the Church at the very lowest ebb. In Germany and in Italy, by land and by sea, everything had gone against her. The Emperor was triumphant, and was master of the Campagna up to the very walls of Rome. The pilot was now taken away, and this perhaps was for the best. Moses must be replaced by Joshua. If Rome was ever to come forth victorious from the great struggle, she must entrust her fortunes to a younger Pope, who would not shrink from galloping his thirty miles across country in the dead of night, who would brave the sea in spite of Pisan cruisers, and who would put the Alps and the Rhone between himself and the Persecutor of the Church. Frederick had been most successful in thwarting the projected Lateran Council; but if the Fathers of the Church could not come to the Pope, the Pope must go to them. The loss of Gregory was not altogether irreparable.

The Emperor was at Grotta Ferrata, whence he wrote, after hearing of the death of his Papal enemy. 'Truly the man is dead, who robbed the earth of peace; and we cannot help pitying him, although he

* Alb. von Beham.

† Ric. San Germano. M. Paris. I am forced to reject Matthew's story of Gregory's living almost to a hundred. The good monk loves a round number in figures, and is not confirmed by any of the Italian historians. Even Gregory's biographer says nothing on this point, to which he must have alluded, had Matthew's marvellous account been founded upon any basis of truth.

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persecuted us. May God fill his place with another man after His own heart, who shall correct the misdeeds of his predecessor and restore us to the love of the Church! We are burning to honour the new Pope, so long as he avoids the faults of the old one; since it is for this that God has given us the Imperial sceptre, for the purpose of defending the Church from the inroads of her foes. We are about to face the enemy coming from the East, that is longing to blot out the Christian name.' Who this enemy was, will be made clear in the next Chapter.

CHAPTER XV.

A.D. 1229—A.D. 1250.

'Quis Parthum paveat? quis gelidum Scythen?
Quis Germania quos horrida parturit
Fœtus, incolumi Cæsare?'—HORACE.

THRICE since the downfall of old Heathenism has Europe been invaded by Pagan enemies from the East, who have threatened to blot out every trace of civilization. First came Attila the Hun, who was only checked in his career of devastation by the close union of the Roman forces with their German conquerors. Four centuries afterwards, the fierce Hungarians made their first appearance on the Danube, and spread terror through Germany, Italy, and France, until they were driven back by the Monarchs of the Saxon line. Four centuries later still, the third and last plague from the East visited the contemporaries of Frederick the Second. The year, in which this scourge fell upon his subjects, happened to be the year that witnessed the surrender of Faenza, the capture of the Prelates, and the death of Pope Gregory the Ninth.

Like the hordes of Attila, and like the children of Arpad, the new enemies of Christendom were the offspring of Tartary. Early in the Thirteenth Century, Zingis Khan issued forth from the deserts of Central Asia to achieve the conquest of that

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Continent. The Chinese Emperor and the Sultan of Kharizmia yielded to the arms of the great Mongol. His sons and grandsons completed his work. The Saracen Caliph, the Prince of the Assassins, and the Sultan of Iconium were involved in one common doom. Even the wilds of Siberia were traversed and subdued by a grandson of Zingis. But we are more immediately concerned with the exploits of the Tartar hordes in the West.

About the time that the Emperor Frederick received at the altar the hand of his English bride, the vast avalanche that threatened to overwhelm all his many realms was set in motion. Batou Khan, a grandson of the founder of Tartar greatness, marched Westward at the head of half a million of men. Six years passed before he could reach the farthest boundary of his destined conquests. Russia soon felt the rage of a barbarian horde, of which she was unable to rid herself for two centuries; Moscow and Kiow were burnt to the ground. Poland was next assailed and had to mourn the ruin of Cracow and Lublin. Silesia then lay open to the inroad of the Mongols, who crossed the Oder and burnt Breslau. They were met at Lignitz on the 9th of April, 1241, by the Christian army, which was made up of Polish refugees, Moravians, Silesians, and Germans. Duke Henry of Silesia lost the battle and was himself slain, although his stout resistance prevented the barbarians from marching straight to the Rhine. They now turned to the South, ravaged Moravia, and poured into ill-fated Hungary.* The Magyar army was suddenly surrounded at early dawn, and a hideous

* See Gibbon and Von Raumer.

massacre was perpetrated by the Tartar bowmen. King Bela, leaving behind him the corpses of his slaughtered nobles and prelates, fled on a fleet horse to the coast of the Adriatic for shelter. He had good reason to send the Bishop of Waitzen to Frederick, offering to hold Hungary as a fief of the Empire. The Ambassador passed on from Faenza to Rome, but found that little help was to be expected from either of the Italian powers. One part of the Tartar army was laying waste Poland, another was kept off by the King of Bohemia, a third was approaching Austria, after having made a wilderness of Hungary. All Christendom stood aghast at the inroad of these strange men, small in stature, but of strong build, and devoted to their chief, whom they called the God of earth. Their haggard faces, distorted noses, long teeth, restless eyes, grim looks, and hideous shouts were the theme of many an awe-inspiring letter. They wore raw hides, on the front of which a few iron plates were stitched, to serve as armour. They would never fall back, unless they saw the standard of their leader withdrawn; quarter they neither asked nor gave. Greediness, deceit, and cruelty were the chief features in their character. They would scatter themselves over a province in small bodies, and cut up the natives in detail; while their own swift hardy steeds enabled them to reunite their forces at pleasure. They were well served by their spies, and usually approached a strange country in the guise of suppliants, not laying aside the mask until they had made their footing good. They profited by their conquests to equip themselves with better arms, and to mount their cavalry on better horses. Their main strength lay in the skill of

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their archers; their mode of crossing rivers upon hides excited the wonder of Christendom. They had no objection to feed upon human flesh; they were guilty of the most barbarous outrages upon females, who died of the treatment received from these miscreants. Men, women, and children alike were subjected to the most cruel tortures.* Those Hungarians who escaped the hands of the enemy could scarcely keep themselves alive. One man, who was taken in a cottage, confessed that he had put to death sixty lads and eaten their bodies. 'What was going on throughout the whole Kingdom,' cries a Chronicler, 'when this was being done in a little cottage!' Mothers ate the flesh of their daughters, and wild beasts were regaled with abundance of human provender.† A prophecy of Methodius, concerning a strange race that should appear at the end of the world, was quoted at Treves. The Jews affirmed that their Messiah and the year of their liberation was drawing nigh.‡ Never was Christendom in greater danger, not even when Attila had left the Rhine behind him on his march Westward, not even when the Moslem were pouring into the valley of the Loire! But Europe was stronger now than she had ever been since the fall of the old Roman Empire. Her real strength had not yet been felt by the barbarians; Russia, Poland, and Hungary were but feeble outworks; it was Germany that was the true rampart of Christendom. The Captain of the garrison

* See the Letters in M. Paris.

† Anon. Chron. Rhythmicum in Rauch,

'Filiæ tenerrimæ matri cibus dantur,
Bestiarum dentibus quique lacerantur.'

‡ Gesta Arch. Trevir.

was fully alive to the danger. Unable himself to face the Tartars on the Danube, harassed by the ceaseless wiles of his Papal enemy, he still did his best for the Empire. On the 3rd of July Frederick sent forth a circular, addressed to the Kings and nations who made up the Christian commonwealth. He described the dreadful outrages perpetrated by the Mongol hordes; the heathen seemed bent on the destruction of mankind. Delay only increased the danger, since it improved the condition of the foe. Let Christendom combine, although the Pope was striving to effect her ruin by preaching a Crusade against the Advocate of the Church. The Tartars were well informed by their spies of the unhappy divisions raging in the Empire. Let each Sovereign furnish his contingent of soldiers against the reckless invaders, who were already looking upon themselves as masters of the world. 'But we,' says Frederick, 'trust in Christ, that these Tartars are to be driven back to their own Tartarus. Satan has lured them hither to die before the conquering Eagles of Imperial Europe, when Germany frantic and burning for war, France the mother and nurse of a gallant soldiery, Spain warlike and daring, England rich, mighty in men, and shielded by her fleet, Almayne full of eager warriors, Denmark famed for shipping, Italy untamed, Burgundy that knows not peace, Apulia restless, together with the piratical and unconquered isles of the Greek, Adriatic, and Tuscan seas, Crete, Cyprus, Sicily, with the isles and countries that border on the Ocean, bloodthirsty Ireland with nimble Wales, marshy Scotland, icy Norway, and every noble realm of the West shall send forth their picked soldiery

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under the banner of the Cross, which strikes awe into rebels, aye, and into opposing Devils.'

A special letter was sent to the King of Hungary, stating the weighty reasons that kept the Emperor in Italy, and advising Bela to join his forces to those of King Conrad, until the full strength of the Empire could be put forth. Every Prince in Germany called upon his neighbour for help. Even the French did not feel themselves safe; Queen Blanche burst into tears at the sad tidings from the East. St. Louis soothed his mother by saying; 'We must look to Heaven for comfort. If the Tartars should come here, we will either send them to Tartarus, or they shall send us to Paradise.'* The Archbishop of Mayence, who was well fitted to take the lead in Germany, and who was still the chief adviser of Conrad, called a Council at Erfurth. A Crusade against the Tartars was preached, and the Bishops took upon themselves in the present crisis to absolve from excommunication even those men, whose cases should have been decided by the Pope alone. An indulgence of forty days was granted to all who would come to the preaching of the Crusade. The Church would even wink at usury, if the holy object was to be furthered. The clergy were entrusted with unusual discretionary powers. A Diet was held at Esslingen, where Conrad, in order to establish peace throughout Germany, decreed the murder of a Crusader to be a crime punishable with death and infamy. Special prayers were ordered; and the Psalm, 'O God, the heathen are come up into thine inheritance,' was recommended as peculiarly suitable. The parish priests were em-

* M. Paris.

powered to bestow the Cross on the volunteers, and it was to be worn up to Christmas Day. The Spiritual Lords and Secular Judges agreed to enforce the enrolment of their vassals. Prisoners, outlaws, debtors, and their sureties, were not to be harassed, if they took the Cross, under pain of excommunication denounced against their persecutors. Old and young, rich and poor, hale and sick, men and women, clergy and laity, all alike were called upon to join the Crusade. No one was to be allowed to wear costly apparel; the money ought to be spent in buying horses and arms. The Crusade was preached, but the zeal of the faithful is said to have waxed cold. What could the people do without their Prince? * He remained afar off, but sent his orders for the Tartar campaign to the German leaders. They were not to risk a battle in the open plains, but were to keep on the defensive. They were to provide cross-bowmen. No beer was to be brewed, but the corn was to be stored up. Victuals were to be brought to the points of defence contemplated, and were not to be diverted to the Rhine, which was far from the probable theatre of the war. Every man who had an income of three marks was to equip himself with a shield. Taverns and costly apparel were to be put down. On the 13th of May, Conrad took the Cross at Esslingen for seven months, and appointed the 1st of July for his army to meet at Nuremberg, thence to go forth against the Tartar dogs. Frederick of Austria, who was quite in his element, rejoiced to hear that the young King was about to head the German levies. The Duke sent word that

* Gesta Arch. Trevir.

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the barbarians had ravaged the North of Hungary, and had done great damage in Bohemia. They had even crossed the borders of Austria, but had been driven back with the loss of three hundred men. He advised that Conrad should be followed only by the Bavarians, Franconians, Suabians, and Alsatians, since provisions would run short if too large an army were poured into Austria. Let the Saxons, Misnians, and Thuringians march through Bohemia, and join the Southern forces in an attack upon the Mongols, who, after uniting all their different divisions, were busied in building Castles in Hungary, and who would be dangerous neighbours to the Empire, if allowed to establish themselves. So strong was the enemy, as the Duke could tell by experience, that the Kings of France, Spain, and England should be summoned forthwith to withstand the whirlwind. If the barbarians, who had already ruined forty Kingdoms, could be rooted out, twenty other Kingdoms might be raised to honour and wealth.*

Conrad however did not advance further than Nuremberg. King Bela wrote from Chazma early in the next year, calling for a reinforcement of Venetian crossbowmen, to prevent the savages from crossing the Danube. His uncle the Patriarch of Aquileia undertook a journey to Apulia in the vain hope of arousing the Emperor.† In the summer, the Tartars suddenly besieged the town of Neustadt in Austria, an ancient stronghold where the Duke had once found refuge. Fifty knights and twenty crossbowmen made up the whole garrison; but the siege was

* See the letters quoted among Conrad's Regesta for 1241.

† Ric. San Germano.

raised on the approach of the forces of Eastern Germany.* The Tartars hovered for two years on the borders of the Empire, whence they were suddenly recalled to their Asiatic wilderness. They left Central Europe in 1243, after having laid waste the Slavonic countries to the South of the Danube just as they had ravaged Hungary. Their watchful enemy, the Duke of Austria, had now leisure to plan a Crusade against other heathens in Prussia.† The Tartars had evidently been daunted by the bold bearing of Germany, since they only grazed its boundaries at Lignitz and Neustadt.

Shortly after the first appearance of these marauders, a sudden and inexplicable change took place in German politics. Siffrid von Eppstein, the Archbishop of Mayence, had been for eleven years the unswerving partizan of the Kaiser. He had gone on more than one journey into Italy, in the interest of his patron, had served at the siege of Brescia, had been unmoved by the curses of Albert von Beham, and had acted as guardian to Conrad. But in the autumn of 1241, the Archbishop turned round, went over to the Papal side, and welcomed Albert von Beham as an ally.‡ He could not apparently have chosen a worse moment for his revolt; Gregory the Ninth had just expired; Frederick was at the height of his power; and the Mongols were still on the borders of the Empire. It is possible that Siffrid may have been disgusted at the slackness of the Kaiser, who was prowling around the walls of Rome at the

* See the Paterine's letter in M. Paris.

† Raynaldus for 1244.

‡ His first letter to the Legate bears date the 1st of October, 1241.

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moment when the war on the Danube claimed his care. Reports were everywhere spread that Frederick was a secret ally of the Mongols, and that he it was who had invited them into the West, for the purpose of bringing Hungary into subjection to himself. Nothing was too absurd to be believed by the votaries of the Church. About the same time, or rather earlier, Conrad von Hochsteden, whom the Pope had not without difficulty recognized as Archbishop of Cologne, threw off his allegiance to the Empire. He also had borne arms at the siege of Brescia, at which time the Kaiser had granted him a tax on the beer brewed in Cologne. The two Prelates, now leagued together in rebellion, went about denouncing Frederick as excommunicated.* At this, we are told, robbers rejoiced, plough-shares were turned into swords, and pruning-hooks into spears. Siffrid, as his townsman says, became a lion, to gain the Pope's favour. He began to make many widows and orphans, to burn towns, to devour men, to turn the land into a wilderness, and to please the Pope marvellously. He handed over the treasures of his Church to robbers.† While this was going on in the North, Albert von Beham was busy in the South. He wrote to his new allies, that the Bishop of Freisingen had put forth foolish words, disputing the jurisdiction of his superiors; and that the Bishop of Ratisbon, a still worse Churchman, had preached before his clergy, denouncing the Archbishop of Cologne as a man of blood who ought to be deposed from his See. 'Do you confirm,' said Albert, 'my sentence against these Bishops. If they

* Gesta Arch. Trevir. † Christ. Moguntinus.

had allowed it, I could have collected 1300 silver marks for you in their dioceses without scandal.' He also excommunicated the Bishops of Passau and Wurzburg. In 1242, Albert lost his notary, who was wounded to death in the Abbey of Nieder Altaich. Not long afterwards, the fickle King of Bohemia took up arms against the Papal party. The Bishop of Prague underwent a rebuke from Albert for allowing excommunicated priests to celebrate. By this time, the Legate had been stripped of everything he had, as he piteously complained to his new friend Siffrid. The Archbishop of Salzburg and five other Bishops inveigled the Duke of Bavaria to a conference at Ratisbon, where they laid before him proofs of an act of treachery committed against him by Albert. The Duke turned against the knave, who was cursed as a false priest and as an enemy of the State, worse than any Turk or Tartar. From the year 1242 Bavaria was lost to Rome; and one of the Duke's children was betrothed to Conrad.*

About this time the Archbishops of Mayence and Cologne, the new heads of the Papal interest, were defeated by Waleran von Limburg. Conrad von Hochsteden, who was made prisoner, gained his release upon taking an oath never again to plot against the Kaiser, a condition which he did not keep very long.† Landolf, the Bishop of Worms, was ordered by Siffrid to excommunicate Frederick, Conrad, and all their abettors with candle, bell, and book, on every holiday. The Bishop had once been a bold man, but he now quailed before his ecclesiastical

* Aventinus. Von Beham. † M. Paris. Ann. Salisb.

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superiors. Three years before this time, the Crown had wished him to share his power with twelve lay assistants, but Landolf had answered; 'I had rather be flayed from the crown of my head to the sole of my feet, than lay down the least jot of what has been won by the toils of my forerunners.' The burghers of Worms were now zealous on the Kaiser's side, and their Bishop was afraid to excommunicate them. He compromised the matter by sending large sums of money to Mayence as bribes, and thus entailed vast debts upon his See. He was honest enough to return to his flock the funds they had contributed for the Crusade against the Tartars; other Bishops, less scrupulous, pocketed similar contributions. Landolf lived six years longer; his city fought manfully on the Hohenstaufen side, and was therefore roughly handled by the fierce Siffrid, who pillaged cloisters, robbed, and slaughtered.* The youthful King, as we see by his letters, was reduced to great straits and was glad to pledge the town of Duren for ten thousand marks to the Count of Julich. He kept a watchful eye upon Remagen, where the Archbishop of Cologne wished to build a castle. Another enemy higher up the Rhine was the Count of Nassau. Conrad's allies required payment for their services; the Duke of Brabant alone had three thousand marks. We find the King handing over three unhappy Jews with all their goods to one of his creditors. He drew upon these unbelievers, when he recompensed Gerard von Sinzig, the Castellan of Landskrone, for losses sustained in the Royal service; this knight had kept fifty armed

* Ann. Wormat.

men in the field for sixteen weeks. Gerard was coolly ordered a few months later to extort five hundred marks more from the Jews of Sinzig. The most remarkable act of sovereignty performed by Conrad about this time was the investiture of the new Archbishop of Besançon by the Sceptre ; the Prelate was bound to contribute a mark of gold to the Royal Chapel. In 1242, the King turned his arms against the rebel Archbishops. Worms fitted out ships of war, which spread devastation along the banks of the Rhine. Conrad ravaged the picturesque Bergstrasse, and took Castel, which stands opposite to Mayence, but this town was lost in the next year, in spite of the efforts of Worms.* About the same time, the Landgrave of Thuringia was much shaken in his loyalty to the Hohenstaufen Sovereigns. A complete change had taken place in Germany ; those who had been loyal in 1239 were now ranged on the side of Rome, while those Princes, such as the Dukes of Bavaria and Austria, who had made war on Frederick in 1239, were now fighting on his side. Theodoric, the Archbishop of Treves, still gladly welcomed Conrad; but this good Prelate, a lover of peace to the last, died in 1242, after having held his See for thirty years. The vacant mitre was claimed by two rival candidates, the one zealous for the Church, the other for the Empire. The Chapter and people of Treves suffered fearfully from the effects of a civil war, actively promoted by the Duke of Lorraine, who as yet was an Imperialist.† It was not Treves alone that was doomed to anarchy ; all Germany was now a chaos of disorder. The wounds

* Ann. Wormat. † Gesta Arch. Trevirorum.

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of the Fatherland might have been healed in 1242, when Albert von Beham, shorn of his influence, and cast out by the Duke of Bavaria, was seeking refuge in the Castle of Bernstein, had not the sudden revolt of the Rhenane Archbishops, a short time before, thrown everything back into confusion. To these two men, Siffrid of Mayence and Conrad of Cologne, the Ministers of Christ, must be ascribed the chief blame of the furious civil wars and the anarchical Interregnum which lasted for thirty years, and which ceased only at the election of the first Habsburg. The gibbet, axe, and wheel, so unsparingly employed by the Kaiser of yore, were now in disuse; lawlessness rioted unchecked. Siffrid's effigy may still be seen in his Cathedral, representing him in the act of bestowing the Crown upon the two puppets of the Papacy, whom he in succession set up against Frederick.* Conrad's tomb is one of the objects of interest in the glorious Cathedral, of which he laid the foundation-stone. We have before us the memorials of two Prelates, who more than any other Germans advanced the Papal cause, and pulled down the Hohenstaufen throne. At the same time they inflicted upon their Fatherland a hurt so incurable, that it has not been remedied up to the present day. Rome arose, powerful as ever, thanks to German disunion.

Frederick himself sent frequent letters from Apulia, entreating his Northern subjects to be steadfast to their Suabian Lord, who had set about the conquest of Italy by their loudly expressed desire, and who had given up the ease of his Palace in order to uphold the honour of the Empire. Some of those

* There is a good fac-simile of this in the Sydenham Palace.

to whom he had entrusted the government had risen against him and had ravaged his lands with sword and fire. Let all good subjects withstand the traitors and strengthen the hands of King Conrad, before the Tartars could profit by these divisions. A new and friendly Pope would soon be elected, and the Kaiser himself would once more come to Germany. William, the Count of Julich, received five hundred marks from the Empire, and was thus induced to form an alliance with the burghers of Aix-la-Chapelle in the Hohenstaufen interest. Those of Spires were rewarded for their services early in 1242 by the restoration of a stream of water, which Frederick had before diverted to a mill built for his own use. The citizens of Worms received a fresh gift, through the intervention of their good Bishop. Two of the Charters of Cologne were confirmed, although that city was now cursed with a rebel pastor. Boppo, the disloyal Prelate of Bamberg, had been false to the oath he had sworn to the Crown on being invested, and had wasted the goods of his Bishoprick. Frederick, then at Avezzano, took counsel with the German Princes at his side, recalled all the injurious alienations of this Prelate, and invested Henry, the new Bishop of Bamberg. Two officials were charged to carry this sentence into effect, and Henry was endowed with unusual rights as regarded his mint. His gratitude did not outlast three years. The burghers of Erfurth were taken under the Kaiser's special protection, on account of the resistance they had made to the traitorous Archbishop of Mayence. Many German nobles came to visit Frederick at Capua in 1242; among these were the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, the Protonotary of the Imperial

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Court, Rodolph of Habsburg, the Burgrave of Nuremberg, Conrad von Hohenlohe, and Anselm the younger of Justingen. Favours were conferred upon the Count of Groningen and the Margrave of Meissen, which were not always repaid with gratitude. It was impossible, so Frederick found to his cost, to govern Germany from an Italian Palace. Had the Tartars delayed their inroad for a few years, they might perhaps have been more successful. As it was, although they left Germany almost unscathed, they were indirectly the means of ruining the Christian power in Palestine.

The Holy Land, ever since Frederick's departure from it in 1229, had been the scene of civil wars. John of Ibelin, who never forgave the Emperor's harsh treatment, headed constant rebellions, at one time in Palestine, at another in Cyprus. Still at first, all promised well for the Hohenstaufen cause. The Barons of the Kingdom of Jerusalem made a declaration that they recognized none but Conrad as their Sovereign, and that they had done homage to the Emperor as his son's guardian. The Pope strengthened the hands of the Imperial deputies, and ordered Gerold, the perverse Patriarch, to ratify Frederick's treaty with the Moslem and to take off the Interdict laid upon the Holy Places. This was accordingly done in the presence of the Patriarchs of Antioch and Aquileia, and of fourteen Bishops.* The Templars were commanded to submit to the Emperor; and in 1231, Gregory at last made up his mind to give his friend the title of King of Jerusalem, since John de Brienne had by this time become

* Alb. Trium Fontium.

Emperor of Constantinople. Richard Filangieri came back from Italy, at the head of an army composed in part of old Apulian rebels, of whom Frederick was glad to be rid. But the Marshal found himself unable to control John of Ibelin, who opposed him both in Palestine and in Cyprus. Beyrout, Tyre, and Acre became the chief points of the struggle. Gregory now recalled his Legate the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and replaced him by the Patriarch of Antioch, a Lombard devoted to the Emperor. Hermann von Salza came to Palestine in 1233 for the last time, and doubtless strove to reconcile the angry disputants. In the next year, Theodoric the Archbishop of Ravenna was sent out by the Papacy to discountenance the rebel party, which he did only too effectually. Gregory's disapproval of the Archbishop's strong measures was afterwards one of the main charges brought against Rome by Frederick.

Early in 1236, the nobles of Palestine were once more in open rebellion, with Eudes de Montbeillard at their head. They allied themselves with their brethren of Cyprus, and joined in sending Geoffrey Le Tort, a famous lawyer, to lay their complaints before the Holy See. He was laden with rich gifts for the Pope and Cardinals, and reached Viterbo in the summer of 1237. Gregory was now no longer on the side of Frederick, whose power was becoming far too great for the safety of Rome. Geoffrey Le Tort accordingly carried back letters, which promised the favour of the Church to the malcontents in the East.* A sort of suspicious,

* Continuation of William of Tyre. French MSS., quoted by Bréholles.

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uneasy armistice was maintained between the Royalists in Tyre and their adversaries in Acre for a few years longer.

In the spring of 1239, the Pope excommunicated the Emperor, and thus signed the death-warrant of the Christians in the Holy Land. This year brought to an end the truce with the Moslem, made in 1229. Frederick had faithfully kept it; he had shed tears over the death of Sultan Kamel, had received many gifts from the East, and had been aided by Paynim allies at the siege of Brescia. The third Act of the Fifth Crusade was now about to open. An army of French pilgrims set sail for Palestine, in defiance of the wishes of the Pope. Most of them arrived in the autumn of 1239, and soon heard that the Sultan of Karak had seized upon Jerusalem and had overthrown the Tower of David; its wonderful masonry, its huge stones clamped with iron and lead, had been unable to resist the destructive fury of the Moslem. It seemed at first sight that this disaster would be speedily avenged; the newly arrived Crusaders were the flower of France, with the noblest Princes of the realm at their head. There was the chivalrous King of Navarre, a Troubadour of no mean reputation, who when Count of Champagne had laid siege with success, so at least it was said, to the heart of Queen Blanche, and who now, instead of singing the praises of his lady, bewailed in verse the woes of Jerusalem. There was Hugh the Duke of Burgundy, a descendant of Hugh Capet; and Peter the Count of Brittany, surnamed Mauclerc. Many nobles of renown bore arms in the enterprise; among these was Amaury de Montfort, the eldest son of the conqueror of Languedoc, the chief whom St.

Louis had appointed his deputy in the East.* But all the efforts of this gallant host were fated to end in nothing. Disunion, as was always the case, proved the bane of the Crusaders. They could never agree among themselves as to the Mohammedan ally to be countenanced, or the Mohammedan foe to be attacked. If a truce was made with any Eastern power, its continuance depended upon caprice. As the French Chronicler remarks; 'When the Sultan died, the Truce also died.' In 1239, the Christians, as usual, were divided into two parties; the one, following Frederick's policy, wished for peace with powerful Cairo and for war with Damascus; the other, seduced by Templars, burned to attack Egypt.

The Count of Brittany had made a foray into Syria, and had come back with many herds of camels, oxen, and horses. The Duke of Burgundy and several other barons, jealous of this success, resolved to march upon Gaza, avowing that they had come to Palestine to fight the infidels. In vain did the King of Navarre entreat them to delay their enterprise, promising that, if they would wait but one day, the whole army should march to Ascalon. The mutineers, in defiance of the orders of their elected chief, set out by night, crossed a small stream into the enemy's country, and lay down to feast and sleep at break of day. Their camp was pitched in a spot surrounded by hills. The Egyptian Emir at Gaza, forewarned of their approach, had bonfires lighted, and soon saw a vast crowd of Saracens gathered under his banner. The countless

* Alb. Trium Fontium.

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archers and slingers of the advancing enemy, the beating of the drums and neighing of the horses, caused the Christians to pause in their forward movement. The Duke of Burgundy and the Count of Jaffa declared that they should retreat, since they were up to their knees in sand, and the Moslem were thirteen to one. This they accordingly did, leaving the impracticable Counts of Bar and Montfort to await the onset of the foe. The Christian archers at first made him give ground, but their arrows were soon spent. Their cavalry charged bravely, and scattered the opposing multitude more than once, being careful always to return to their entrenchments. At last, the Saracens feigned flight, while their light troops, posted on the hills, rushed down upon the camp of the Christians, who were hotly pursuing. The host of the Lord was surrounded and driven to yield at last from sheer exhaustion, after performing prodigies of valour. This took place on the 13th of November. The King of Navarre hurried from Ascalon to the rescue, but found the field strewn with the headless corpses of the Christians, who had sold their lives dearly. The Moslem, being unpursued, made a triumphant entry into Cairo with their booty and prisoners, who were loaded with insults as they passed along the streets, and were afterwards employed in building palaces and colleges on the banks of the Nile. Amaury de Montfort was one of the luckless band. 'Cursed be the day,' cries a captive Troubadour, 'that has robbed France of her brave knights, when so many of the valiant have become slaves!' The Crusaders were discouraged; they quartered themselves at Jaffa, Acre, Tyre, and Tripoli, giving up their old plan of marching on

Damascus; their camp became a scene of jealousy and anarchy. The citizens of the various towns in Palestine wept for the loss of the captive pilgrims, and declared that the late defeat had been caused by the pride and envy of the Christians. The Pope's Legate used to end each of his sermons with the words; 'For God's sake, my dear people, pray Him to restore to the chief men of this host their hearts!' *

Fighting being out of the question, the best thing to be done was to renew the truce. The Templars prevailed on their favourite ally, the Sultan of Damascus, to restore Jerusalem; the French chiefs, on the other hand, made an offensive and defensive alliance with the Sultan of Egypt, who scandalized all good Mussulmen by thus leaguing himself with idolaters. Orthodoxy was clearly on the wane; the zealots of Islam could not bear that Christians should be allowed to buy arms at Damascus, and the Imaum of the great Mosque refused to put up the usual prayers in behalf of his Sovereign.† If the Moslem were at variance with each other, much more so were the Crusaders. The state of the Holy Land had been most gloomy, more especially since the Papal thunderbolt had been launched against Frederick. All kinds of jarring interests battled at Acre, the Crown of Cyprus against the Crown of Jerusalem, the Temple against the Hospital, the Genoese against the Pisans. A fresh element of disorder now made itself felt. Early in 1240, Marsilio Giorgi came out with the title of Bailiff of the Venetian State. Eager to avenge himself upon Richard Filangieri, who had

* MSS. of Rothelin, quoted by Michaud. † Makrizi.

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refused to recognize the rights of Venice, the newcomer set up Alice, the Queen Dowager of Cyprus, as a rival to her Hohenstaufen nephew. She gave her hand to a French Baron, claimed the Crown of Jerusalem, and received the homage of many of the great nobles in June. The next step of the rebel party was to seize upon Tyre, in which feat they were aided by the Venetian galleys. Lothaire Filangieri held the Castle of that city for the Emperor, but he soon had to yield it. His brother Richard the Marshal, who had left Palestine for Apulia, was driven back into Tyre by a series of mishaps at sea. 'We caught him,' writes the Venetian Bailiff, 'and after erecting a gibbet on a lofty tower within sight of the Castle, we threatened to hang him. The garrison, fearing lest we should hang him, yielded up the Castle, on condition of their having leave to depart.' Thus ended the dominion at Tyre of those whom Giorgi calls 'the Emperor's rascally Lombards;' the city was now placed in the hands of John of Ibelin.*

Frederick did his best for the French Crusaders who were rotting in the dungeons of Cairo, although they had set at nought his authority. He forbade the Sultans of the East, threatening them with his Imperial vengeance, to deal harshly with the prisoners.† He wrote to the King of England in April, reminding the Christian world that the Emperor had earnestly advised the delay of the Crusade, until the war in Italy should be brought to an end. But the Roman Priest had been the bane of the enterprise. 'We mourn for the loss sustained by the noble King-

* See the letters for 1240.

† M. Paris.

dom of France in the persons of her gallant soldiery. But we will try to repair the damage, and to effect the release of the illustrious captives. We think that if the late Sultan of Cairo had now been alive, he would have granted our request, out of the love he used to profess for our Royal person.' These efforts of Frederick in behalf of the imprisoned soldiers of the Cross won him great popularity in England.

His interests in Palestine were furthered by the arrival of his brother-in-law, the Earl of Cornwall, early in October 1240. The brave Earl of Salisbury, a future martyr to the cause, and Robert de Twenge, the sturdy Yorkshire champion, were among the followers of the English Prince, while the Earl of Albemarle died on his way to the Holy Land. Richard of Cornwall, who had entrusted himself to the guidance of Theodoric, a Prior of the Hospitallers, landed at Acre, and was welcomed with the ringing of bells, the chants of the priests, and the music and dancing of the laity. The knights were overjoyed to obtain a new leader. He ordered a herald to proclaim that he would pay the expenses in Palestine of every Crusader who was willing to stay and fight boldly for Christ. The Earl had come well furnished with money, the produce of those Cornish tin mines, which long afterwards enabled him to buy the Crown of the Empire. His fame had preceded him; before his arrival the Saracens were shuddering at the approach of the nephew of the Lion-hearted King. Old men perhaps still lived, who could remember how the elder Richard, lance in hand, had ridden along the Saracen line at Jaffa from right to left, without finding a man willing to encounter him. Great things were expected from the Earl of Corn-

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wall by both friends and foes; the King of Navarre, the Count of Brittany, and many of the French Crusaders, jealous of a foreign rival, had already made a truce with Nazir, the Lord of Karak. It was agreed that he should give up all the prisoners taken at Gaza whom he had in his hands, and the term of forty days was allotted for the fulfilment of the conditions of the truce. The French had then sailed home without awaiting the arrival of Richard, and before the forty days were over; thus leaving the truce to take care of itself. Nazir sent word to the Englishman, that he could not now abide by the conditions he had granted to the French. The Crusaders accordingly marched to Jaffa, where they were met by an envoy from the more complaisant Sultan of Cairo, who proffered terms of peace. Richard, faithful to the scheme of politics marked out by his Imperial brother-in-law, hastened to accept the new alliance. The Duke of Burgundy, Count Walter de Brienne, the Master of the Hospitallers, and the chief part of the army, agreed to the peace, which bore a strong resemblance to that obtained by the Emperor himself twelve years before. The district of Beyrout, the Castle of Nazareth, all the land lying on the road between Jaffa and Jerusalem, the Holy City itself, Bethlehem, Bethany, and a number of other Castles and villages which were named, were once more handed over to the Christians; the prisoners taken at Gaza were also to be given up. As soon as the truce had been arranged, Richard of Cornwall employed his time in building a strong Castle at Ascalon, which he surrounded with a double wall and lofty towers, leaving the outside ditch to be finished after Easter. Ascalon, as Richard re-

marked, was the key to the Kingdom of Jerusalem from the South, and was the point whence Egypt could be most easily overawed. On the 23rd of April, 1241, he had the joy of receiving the captive heroes lost at Gaza. Thirty-three nobles, five hundred knights and pilgrims of the middle rank, and a great many retainers of the Templars and Hospitallers, were given up by their Egyptian gaolers. Pope Gregory, mindful of the services rendered to Rome by the De Montforts, had in the previous month sent money for the ransom of Amaury.* Not satisfied with regaining the prisoners, Earl Richard procured some vehicles and horses, and collected the unburied bones that lay bleaching on the plain of Gaza. These he brought to Ascalon and buried in the cemetery there; leaving money for daily masses to be sung for ever, on behalf of the souls of the martyred Crusaders. He became very popular in France, owing to this graceful act; but he incurred the ill will of the surly Templars, who looked down upon him as a mere boy, on his declining to place his Castle of Ascalon in their hands; this, together with the money needed for its completion, he handed over to an agent of the Emperor's. His truce was broken, immediately after his departure in 1241, by the unruly Brotherhood. They moreover blockaded the Hospitallers in their houses at Acre, and drove the Teutonic knights out of that city, in order to spite Frederick. The Germans fled to their Kaiser and complained of the insolence of the Templars; murmurs arose throughout Christendom, that vast revenues were bestowed, as it seemed, for the purpose of fattening an Order which was causing the ruin of the Holy Land.†

* Wadding for 1241.

† M. Paris.

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In September, the Emperor sent Roger of Amici, at that time Captain and Chief Justiciary in Sicily and Calabria, on an embassy to Sultan Nodgemeddin, the son of the deceased Kamel. The deputy, laden with rich presents, arrived in Egypt on board a ship called the Half-World; his attendants were a hundred in number. They entered Cairo from the side nearest to the Pyramids, mounted on Nubian steeds belonging to the Sultan. The city was illuminated, and the whole of its population came forth to welcome the Italian Ambassadors. These were lodged at the cost of Nodgemeddin, who defrayed all their charges with unexampled liberality. They were allowed to pass their time as they chose, and to hunt and draw the crossbow; they made a treaty of alliance between the Sultan and the Emperor, and did not leave Egypt until the spring of 1242.*

In this year, Frederick sent his trusty friend, the Count of Acerra, to replace Richard Filangieri in Palestine. The new deputy, who had already governed that country for the Emperor in 1227, set out from Apulia in June.† He found the Hospitallers more favourable now to the Imperial claims than they had been during his former sojourn in the Holy Land, and he entrusted them with the care of the Castle at Ascalon. They were allowed the Crown revenues derived from this place, and both Frederick and Conrad joined in the conveyance.‡ The Count of Acerra remained for at least six years in Palestine, where he rallied the Emperor's

* Vitæ Patr. Alexand. in Reinaud, and Appendix to Malaterra.

† Ric. San Germano. ‡ See the letters for 1243.

partizans. At the time of his arrival, the Templars, the implacable foes of his master, were rejoicing over a victory they had lately won against great odds.* A most savage war was being waged between the soldiers of the Cross and the Sultan of Karak, the destroyer of the Tower of David. This Prince massacred the Pilgrims, male and female, on the road to the Holy City, putting them to death at its very gates. In 1243, the Christians made a foray into the lands of their ruthless enemy, who ruled over Hebron and the shores of the Dead Sea; they sacked Naplous, razed the mosque, and slew men, women, and children; no mercy was shown even to those of the Moslem, who offered to become Christians. But the dread of a common danger united the masters of Acre and Karak. They both alike feared the growing power of Nodgemeddin, the Sultan of Egypt. The Lord of Damascus also entered into an alliance with the Christians, who delivered up to him a pretender to his throne. The policy of the Templars, as opposed to that of the Emperor, now reigned triumphant. The new allies marched once more towards Gaza; in the mean time, the Christians found themthemselves masters of the whole of Palestine, and seemed to think that their rule would last for ever. In vain did the new Pope command them to rebuild the ruined walls of Jerusalem, and to tax the country for that purpose; they cared not for good counsel.† Gemaleddin, who at this time travelled through the Holy Land, was astonished to see them in possession, not only of the Holy Sepulchre, but even of the Mosque of Omar, which Frederick had been unable to

* M. Paris.

† Raynaldus for 1243.

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wring from the Sultan. The Arab chronicler saw priests and monks prepare to sing mass, with chalices of wine in their hands; when he entered the Mosque, he was annoyed by the ringing of bells, a sound unmusical to Moslem ears. But this good fortune was not to last very long,—although Armand of Perigord, the Grand Master of the Templars, wrote in jubilant strains to his brethren in England, boasting that the Christians were now enjoying privileges which had been lost to them for six and fifty years. This was due to the Templars, to the Prelates, and to a few of the local Barons. It only remained to seize upon Gaza, the key to Egypt; and for this purpose the Sultans of Damascus and Karak had promised their aid.

But Nodgemeddin, the Sultan of Cairo, had allies of his own, who had not as yet made their appearance on the Jordan. The Kharizmians were a tribe dwelling on the shores of the Caspian Sea from time immemorial; Herodotus himself has noted their name. In the Thirteenth Century, they won great renown under their brave Sultan Gelaleddin, whose valour inspired Zingis Khan himself with respect. But the tribe had been driven before the savage onset of the Mongols, and was now wandering about Asia, far from its old home; as the Christians remarked, the Tartars had dragged forth the snakes from their holes. These Kharizmians were the men whom the Sultan of Cairo wanted. At his call, in 1244, they crossed the Euphrates, to the number of 10,000 horsemen under four Khans, bringing their wives and children along with them. They burned, massacred, and pillaged in Syria, until the Sultan of Damascus was fain to recall his troops from Gaza. They then

marched down by way of Galilee into the Holy Land, their promised guerdon. The Christians in terror left Jerusalem, which was still unfortified, for Jaffa; but they were soon brought back by a report that the enemy had been defeated, and that the standard of the Cross was still to be seen on the walls of the Holy City. Many of the unwary returned accordingly, and thus fell into the trap laid for them at Ramah by the savage Kharizmians. Seven thousand men and women were massacred in a narrow pass; their blood streamed down the sides of the mountains like water. The Holy Sepulchre was defiled by the slaughter of the nuns and aged men, who had fled thither for refuge. Priests were beheaded at the altars; the Kharizmians shouted, 'Let us slay them where they have drunk wine in honour of their God, who was hung on a tree!' The tomb of Christ was destroyed, and its sculptured pillars were sent as a trophy to Medina. The bones of Godfrey de Bouillon and of the other Frank Kings were thrown into the fire. Calvary, Mount Zion, the Tomb of the Virgin, and the Church at Bethlehem, which had hitherto always been respected by Moslem conquerors, were now profaned. Such was the fruit of the Templars' policy. Never, since these disastrous days, has Jerusalem been given back into the hands of the Christians.

The Patriarch, who had come to Palestine earlier in the year, narrowly missed being one of the victims. He called upon all the allies, Christian and Paynim, to march against the ruthless invaders. The Syrian Princes speedily appeared at Acre, and were honoured with a sumptuous reception. The Prince of Emesa in particular was hailed by the Crusaders

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as 'one of the best Barons of Paganism.'* Ibn-ghiouzi was a witness to the strange alliance which the Templars had formed; he saw the Christian priests bestowing their blessing upon the Moslem, and giving them wine from their chalices. On the 4th of October, the confederates left Acre, and marched all together to Karita, a place near Gaza, which had five years before proved so fatal to the arms of Christendom. Walter de Brienne, Count of Jaffa, the son of that Champenois whom Innocent the Third had called into Apulia forty years earlier, led the left wing, where fought the Knights of St. John. The Patriarch, armed with a piece of the True Cross, the Templars, and the barons of Palestine formed the centre. The Moslem from Syria were on the right. On the other side the Kharizmians and the Egyptians, ten times more numerous than the Christians, were drawn up in warlike array, led by the Emir Bibars, who had united all his forces at Gaza.† On the 18th of October, the Christians began the battle, against the advice of their Syrian allies. It lasted from morning to night; numbers fell on the side of the Cross, but four times as many of the enemy were cut off. Fresh succours came in to the Kharizmians, and on the morrow the fight was renewed. Walter de Brienne in vain entreated his knights to charge, before the enemy's ranks were formed. Even at that crisis, he was refused absolution by the Patriarch, who had excommunicated him for detaining a tower at Jaffa claimed by the Church. The Bishop of Ramah, indignant at the unchristian conduct of his superior, gave the gallant soldier the

* Joinville. † Makrizi.

desired absolution, which had been lavishly bestowed by the Prelates upon the whole of the army. The pair then set spurs to their horses and fell upon the hindmost division of the enemy, but the Count was taken prisoner, and his men were slaughtered or driven into the sea. The Sultan of Kamel, the ally of the Christians, fought on until he had only four-score men left out of two thousand. The Kharizmians won the day, and overpowered by sheer weight of numbers the Christian host, which now stood alone. Nobles, knights, crossbowmen, and infantry were alike involved in the hideous butchery. The Bishop of St. George and the Lord of Kayphas were slain; the chiefs of the Hospitallers and Templars and the Archbishop of Tyre were made prisoners. 'Never was there so glorious a day for Islam,' cries Ibn-ghiouzi, 'not even under Noureddin and Saladin! I passed over the battle-field the next morning, and was told that more than 30,000 corpses had been counted.' 'Why did you rush upon death?' said the conquerors to their prisoners. 'We would rather die in battle,' was the answer, 'and thus buy the salvation of our souls, than yield to base flight.' In fact, only thirty-three Templars, twenty-six Hospitallers, and three of the Teutonic Order fled away with the Patriarch of Jerusalem and Philip de Montfort, the Standard-bearer of the Kingdom. These, escaping half-dead from the field, found refuge at Ascalon, and thence fell back upon Acre, where there was scarcely a house that had not some victim to mourn. The enemy very soon pitched their camp in the plain near that city, and ran wild over the country, sharing out the lands, and collecting the revenues from the not unwilling

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provincials, who welcomed a Moslem master. The Patriarch entreated aid from the rulers of Cyprus and Antioch. No help was to be expected by the Christians from their late Syrian comrades, who had been false to Islam. Thus the chronicler Gemaleddin describes the scruples of the Prince of Emesa, who had wept over the loss of his men, and had fled back into the North without his baggage. 'By Allah,' so the Prince said, 'the Lord told me in my heart that we could not win, because we had sought out the friendship of the Franks.' On the other hand, the joy of the conquerors of Gaza was unbounded. The illumination at Cairo in honour of the victory lasted for several days; the prisoners, eight hundred in number, Christian and Moslem, were brought in on camels; and the heads of the slain were stuck upon the gates of the city. Nodgemeddin now found himself master of great part of the Holy Land; Jerusalem, Ascalon, and Tiberias acknowledged his sway. In November, his Kharizmian allies laid siege to Jaffa, a stronghold which, well repaired and fortified by the Emperor sixteen years before, withstood their attacks. To induce its surrender, they hung up Count Walter de Brienne by the arms on a gallows; but the hero besought the Hospitallers, who formed the garrison, not to yield, whatever torture they might see him undergo, since they would assuredly all be massacred. The besiegers, foiled by his constancy, sent him to Cairo, where the merchants begged him of the Sultan. They flew upon their old enemy in his dungeon, and hacked him to pieces.* Thus died Walter de Brienne, one

* Joinville.

of a race of heroes that did honour to Champagne, and cousin to Conrad, the rightful King of Jerusalem.

The Syrian Princes, who had lately fought against Nodgemeddin, were in dismay. The Lord of Karak lost nearly all his towns, and the Kharizmians, led by the Sultan of Cairo in person, starved out Damascus after a six months' blockade. Angry at being debarred from pillaging it, they renounced their alliance with Nodgemeddin, and sided with their old Syrian enemies. But they were defeated in two great battles in the year 1247, and disappeared from the borders of the Holy Land, which they had ruined. The Emir Fakreddin in the mean time razed to the ground Tiberias and Ascalon, which the Earl of Cornwall had in vain fortified. Thus the whole of these complicated political changes ended in Nodgemeddin, whose alliance the Emperor had courted, becoming master of Egypt, Palestine, and Syria; while the policy of the Templars had brought about the downfall of the Frank Kingdom, and had left the Christians little besides Acre, Tyre, and a few other places. The Bishop of Beyrout and Arnulf, a Dominican Friar, were sent to Venice with the piteous tidings of 1244.*

The Emperor, who derived all his knowledge of these disasters from the Teutonic Brethren at Acre, the recipients of many a Hohenstaufen charter, did not fail to call the attention of Europe to the cause of the mischief. In his letter, he inveighed against the folly of the Patriarch and the rashness of the

* For the events of the year see the letters in M. Paris, and also Joinville and Makrizi.

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chiefs, who had disregarded all the rules of war. But the Templars were the parties most to be blamed; they had broken the Emperor's treaty with the Sultan of Cairo, and had, like simple fools, put their trust in the Sultans of Damascus and Karak. This was like sending for oil to put out a raging fire. The unbelieving Princes had been received into the houses of the Temple, and had there been allowed to invoke the name of Mohammed and to perform their religious rites. It was no wonder that they had turned back in the day of battle and left the Christians to fall a prey to the Southern Moslem. 'The Lord has chastened us,' thus Frederick wrote, 'but we glory each in the woes of the other. Satan is working, while Simon is asleep. Arouse ye then, brave men, and snatch up your arms. We before offered to lead the French Crusaders and to keep a thousand auxiliary knights in our pay; but the Pope would not grant us the peace we sought of him. We now again renew our offers, in spite of the threatening storm of the Tartars, and of the perils of the Empire at Constantinople. When Italy is at peace, our wings will recover their strength.'

Much harm had been done to Palestine by the excommunication in 1239; but the great event of 1245 proved even a sharper stroke. In vain did King Louis despatch a body of knights, while the Earl of Cornwall supplied his friends the Hospitallers with a thousand pounds. In vain did the successor of Gregory devote the twentieth part of all Church revenues for three years to the relief of the Holy Land; in vain did he forbid the sale of warlike engines to the Saracens, and curse the pirates who intercepted the Christian galleys. It was in this

year that Damascus fell into the hands of the arch-enemy of the Christians, Sultan Nodgemeddin. One of the stock charges brought against the Emperor was, that he was in the habit of receiving envoys from this representative of Saladin. But the Templars themselves in their distress were glad to imitate Frederick and send an embassy to the feet of the Sultan of Cairo. The Mohammedan scowled at them, reproached them with their disloyal conduct towards the Emperor and the Earl of Cornwall, and refused to allow his prisoners to be ransomed. 'If you wish for the release of your brethren,' said the interpreters, 'all you have to do is to ask for the intercession of the Emperor Frederick, whom our Lord loves and respects above all men.' The Templars, haughty as ever, replied, 'Never, so long as we breathe, will we agree to this!' Their great patron the Pope, seeing that there was hardly a Castle in Palestine able to hold out against the Moslem, asked Nodgemeddin to grant a truce. The Sultan's answer to 'the universal mouthpiece of the Christians, the leader of the sons of baptism,' is still extant. It runs thus; 'A messenger came before us from the holy Pope, and we put faith in his words concerning Christ, of whom we know more than you do, and whom we glorify more than you do. We also wish for peace; but the Pope knows of the friendship that has been established between us and the Emperor since the time of the Sultan my father; and you know how matters stand between you and the Emperor. Our messenger at his Court will wait upon you and bring back your answer, upon which we shall act for the advantage of all in common.' The Papal Court declared that Frederick had

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prompted this letter, in order to secure peace for himself.

In 1247, the preachers of the Crusade were active, but the wars raging in Germany and Italy prevented any succour from reaching Palestine. When Jerusalem fell into the hands of Saladin, sixty years earlier, all Christendom had rushed to the rescue; but now only one King made any serious efforts to save the the Holy City from the grasp of Saladin's great-nephew. In 1248, St. Louis steered for Cyprus, followed by the chivalry of France. Two friars, disciples of Abbot Joachim, had beheld the embarkation of the gallant host, and had amid general execration foretold the coming disaster.* Frederick took care to supply his Royal brother with provisions, and in vain begged leave to accompany him; this the rancour of the Church would not allow. The Sixth Crusade was now fairly on foot. Late in 1249, Damietta once more fell into the hands of the Crusaders, soon to be again lost by their rashness. The spirit of Cardinal Pelagius seemed to be guiding the ill-fated undertaking. Early in 1250, the whole French army became the prisoners of the new Sultan of Cairo, the son of Nodgemeddin. This disaster far surpassed those of 1221, 1239, and 1244. It was asked why the Lord had abandoned his followers? of what use were prayers and almsgiving? was the law of Mohammed better than that of Christ? The Greek fire and the Saracen galleys on the Nile were once more employed with fatal effect. The Count of Artois and the Earl of Salisbury were the noblest victims. The three knightly Orders, as at Gaza, lost almost

* Salimbene, who was then in Provence.

every man they had. King Louis, whose life had been with difficulty spared, hastened from the scene of shame to hide his head at Acre; and even that city was threatened by the conquering Paynim. The Templars and Hospitallers, the Genoese and Pisans, furnished the sorrow-stricken Crusader with money to pay his ransom.* He found Acre a prey to its usual broils. Queen Alice was dead, but her son and John of Ibelin were in full vigour. The Pope was supporting the Lusignans against the Hohenstaufen Princes, and demanded that the Count of Acerra should be driven from Tripoli. Even the clergy were taking part in the struggle, not always on the side of their Head. The Pisans, staunch as ever to Frederick, used to hoist his standard as their galleys sailed into Acre, and even unfurled the hated ensign in the Churches during festivals, 'to the peril of their souls and the scandal of the public.'† The Emperor's rights were respected by the French, who refused to yield up certain places in the Holy Land to the Sultan, because these towns belonged to Frederick.‡ It was now an era of transition; changes occurred with startling rapidity. An Oriental revolution had, curiously enough, been witnessed by St. Louis during his stay in Egypt. The race of Saladin lost their crown; Cairo became the prize of their murderers; and the Mamelukes installed themselves in the palaces of the grandson of Sultan Kamel, Frederick's beloved ally. Not many years afterwards, Frederick's own grandson lost his life and his claim

* M. Paris, whom see for all the events in Palestine.

† Regesta of Innocent IV., quoted by Bréholles.

‡ Joinville.

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to the Crown of Jerusalem, a barren honour; but this event is beyond our limits.

On reviewing the course of affairs in Palestine between 1229, the year of Frederick's departure from its shores, and 1250, we are struck by the rotten and unhealthy state of the whole body politic. Every class, every nation, every Order had its own private interests, to which it was ready to sacrifice the common weal. It was not so much the power of the Moslem as the factiousness of the Christians that overthrew the work begun by Godfrey and restored by Frederick. When that Emperor left Acre, everything went to ruin. The one strong hand was wanting, which had held all together, and had saved the Crusaders in spite of themselves. After 1229, the Templars had their own way. Yet for sixty years longer the handful of Christians held their precarious ground, clinging with desperate grasp to the strip of land they occupied, though expecting every moment to be pushed into the sea by the overpowering strength of the Moslem. A champion would every now and then come forward, whose presence for an instant revived drooping hopes and seemed to promise salvation. The choicest spirits of Germany, France, Italy, and England appeared on the scene. Hermann von Salza, St. Louis, Theobald Visconti, and Edward Longshanks, all visited the Holy Land after the departure of Frederick the Second. The wisdom of the statesman, the chivalry of the saint, the zeal of the churchman, and the vigour of the warrior, were alike placed for a moment at the service of the Christians in the East. But all was in vain; the disease was incurable; it was a righteous retribution that drove from the Holy

Land those who were unworthy to hold it. About forty years after Frederick's death, Acre, which had witnessed his efforts and his requital, was lost; the one remaining stronghold of the Christians, at that time a foul sink of iniquity, fell into the hands of the Moslem. With the loss of Acre the Crusades came to an end, having drained the blood and treasure of Christendom for two hundred years. The Thirteenth century, which was witness to so many changes, saw at its end a race of men who cared not to risk their lives in the sands of Gaza or on the banks of the Nile, and who were deaf to the calls of Rome. The Holy See had overthrown the Hohenstaufens; it was soon to become an accomplice in the doom of their worst enemies, the Knights of the Temple.

CHAPTER XVI.

A.D. 1241 —A.D. 1245.

'Lugdunensem rhetor dicturus ad aram.'—JUVENAL.

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THE death of Pope Gregory the Ninth in August, 1241, seemed to be the one thing wanting to complete the triumph of the Emperor. The rebels both in Italy and in Germany were at this time few, and were paralyzed by the crushing blows that had befallen them of late; the Tartars and the Moslem were too far off to disturb Frederick's career of success. He had now foreign Princes at his side, to witness his good fortune. The Crusaders, who had bled at Gaza and toiled at Ascalon, were in Italy. The Count of Nevers and Amaury de Montfort, the latter of whom had never recovered the hardships of his dungeon at Cairo, died soon after landing in Apulia.* But the brother of the King of England was enjoying a sojourn of almost four months at the brilliant Court of the Emperor. Little did Frederick think, that in 1241 he was living in familiar intercourse with two of his successors, Richard of Cornwall and Rodolph of Habsburg! The Earl set off for his own country towards the end of the year, followed by many of the needy Frenchmen, whom he had ransomed, and in whose behalf he had interested his

* Alb. Trium Fontium.

powerful brother-in-law. Proclamation was made throughout the Empire, that no one, under penalty of a most cruel death, should presume upon the widowed state of the Church, or annoy the clergy and the returning Pilgrims. Earl Richard had also used his influence to promote the election of a new Pope. Frederick, whose good fortune seemed to be ever increasing, now received a fresh supply of gold. The Papal agents took their flight from Dover late in the year, having their saddle-bags well stuffed with money wrung from England, Scotland, and Ireland. Walter of Ocra, the Emperor's Ambassador, arrived too late to prevent their escaping to France with their ill-gotten gains. After hearing of the Pope's death, they hastened on to Italy, closely followed by Walter, and they stowed their treasures in the houses of their kinsmen. Frederick, informed of this, ordered a strict search to be made throughout the cities of Italy. He threw into prison the Papal collectors, who had been stirring up the kingdoms of the world against him. He also confiscated the goods of these men, whose ruin further entailed that of their kinsmen. They were forced to give an account of the money they had collected, and the merchants of the various cities superintended its disbursement.*

The King of England apparently made no complaint regarding the vast sums which had thus found their way out of his realm into the Imperial coffers. The King of France was less complaisant towards the Prince, whose power seemed to be overshadowing the whole of Christendom. Many of the highest of the French clergy were still pining in the Apulian

* M. Paris.

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dungeons, where they had been shut up by Frederick's orders. It was scarcely prudent in him to affront the body, to which they belonged. The Gallican Church was then, as it has always been, one of the most powerful in Europe, and it was already beginning to develope its distinctive tenets. The late Pope had written in 1227 to Cardinal Romano, his Legate in France, rebuking him for having dealt harshly with that Church, as though it had been heretical, whereas it was second only to Rome, and was the mirror of all Christendom.* The French clergy bestirred themselves in behalf of their captive brethren, and sent the Prior of La Charité with a letter to the Emperor. Christ was suffering, so the document averred, in the persons of His followers, who had been punished for obeying their Head. Let their gaoler consult his fame and the interest of his soul by setting them free; let him hearken to the sobs and tears of the Gallican Church, and keep hell-fire and the Judgment Day before his eyes. The Church might seem to be afflicted; but she was always most powerful when brought low, just as the Ark was borne aloft by the angry waves in the Deluge. St. Louis himself came to the help of his imprisoned subjects. He sent the Abbot of Corbie and another envoy into Italy, requesting that the French Prelates might be set free. Frederick, drunk with success, made a most arrogant reply; 'It is the Providence of God that has placed in our hands the Prelates, not of France alone, but of other provinces; these men we hold as our enemies. The might of the Empire surpasses all human power, and

* Middlehill MSS. No. 130, Regesta Gregorii IX. for 1227.

every animal trembles at the footprints of the Lion. Be not astonished if Augustus is keeping in prison the Prelates who were striving to crush Cæsar.'* St. Louis despatched a noble answer by the Abbot of Cluny, who had been already released from the Emperor's fetters. The King appealed to the old treaties of peace, which made but one State of the Empire and France. His Prelates had only obeyed the Pope, and had never meant to wrong the Emperor. 'We consider their detention,' the King went on, 'as a personal injury; remember that we would not listen to the Bishop of Palestrina and the other Legates of the Church, who entreated our alliance against you, and who have never been able to derive from our Kingdom anything that could harm you. Let Imperial prudence reflect; let it weigh our letter in the balance of justice; and let it not obey the intoxication of power and its own good pleasure; since the Realm of France is not so weakened as to allow itself to be galled by your spurs.' Frederick was wise in time; he refrained from aggrieving the House of Capet, the old ally of his family; and he restored the French prisoners to their homes.

The latter part of the year 1241 was taken up with the intrigues attendant upon a Papal election. On hearing of Gregory's death, Frederick allowed the Cardinals to meet at Rome, and gave a hint, full of meaning, to the Conclave by ordering out bodies of men, who were to ravage the Campagna from two different quarters. The Senator shut up the Cardinals in the Sette Sole, while their two captive brethren

* Prælatos in angusto tenet Augustus, qui ad Cæsaris angustias nitebantur.

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were taken to Tivoli by the Emperor's command. In September, he returned once more into his Kingdom, and determined on building a new city in front of Ceprano; to this he gave the name of Flagella, since it was designed to be the scourge of Rome. Richard of Montenero, the Justiciary of the Province, acted as overseer of the work; the inhabitants of three neighbouring towns were ordered to remove into the new foundation, and a number of men from the abbeys and counties near the Garigliano were pressed to serve as masons. The proposed stronghold however was never completed. Frederick passed by way of Benevento, which had yielded to his arms in the spring, and he spent the winter at Foggia. Here a public sale took place which caused great scandal. Andrew of Cicala had already stripped the various Churches of their treasures. He had taken from San Germano alone a golden and a silver table, a costly statue, and many jewels and silk vestments, the property of the Virgin and St. Benedict. Upon these articles a price was put, at which the Churches were allowed to redeem them; this took place in October.* Each Justiciary throughout the Kingdom was ordered to assess a specified sum of money upon the provinces, in order to cover the Emperor's debts contracted at Faenza and Pisa. He called God to witness that he was loth to throw fresh burdens upon the shoulders of his subjects, but the state of his Treasury, drained of its supplies, allowed him no choice. The end of the war could not now be far off. The inroad into the Campagna was delayed; still the exportation of horses and arms was forbidden.

* Ric. San Germano.

Something resembling peace was established, while the Cardinals were wrangling over the election at Rome. Frederick had probably reckoned upon a happy winter at Foggia, but he was doomed to disappointment. On the 1st of December, his charming Empress, Isabella of England, died in child-birth.* This daughter of the Plantagenets lies buried in the crypt of the Cathedral at Andria, by the side of Frederick's second Empress, Yolande de Brienne; their effigies are still pointed out. The bereaved husband ordered all the bells in the Kingdom to be tolled for the deceased, and her funeral rites to be duly solemnized by the clergy, under pain of his indignation. He sent to England a letter full of sorrow at the loss of the best-beloved of all his consorts. He mourned that his prosperity, of late so remarkable, was now chequered by so cruel a blow. No money or care would have been spared, had it been possible to ward off the decree of the Lord of Lords. Still, two noble pledges, a future King and Queen, remained to keep alive the memory of their mother, and to bind the throne of Cæsar and that of the English King closely together. In spite of all these laments, Frederick was soon intent upon a fourth marriage. In the next year, he forbade his friend the Duke of Austria to seek the hand of a Princess of Bohemia, saying that he wanted the lady for himself.† This wedding never took place, but the proposal seems for a time to have detached Bohemia from the clerical party. The loss of Isabella was felt in her own country as well as in Apulia. A year later, Henry of England, who was carrying on a senseless war

* Ric. San Germano.

† Chron. Garstense.

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against France, wrote to Frederick from Gascony, begging the Emperor to remember the words spoken by the Empress on her brother's behalf just before her death. The King sent a similar message to Peter de Vinea, being most eager to make a treaty with Peter's master.* The death of Isabella was followed within two months by that of her step-son Henry, who breathed his last, as already stated, at Martorano. The Princes, Barons, Judges, and knights of the neighbourhood came to his funeral, and Brother Luke, a Franciscan of great learning and reputation, preached a sermon, according to the custom of Apulia. He took for his text the words, 'And Abraham stretched forth his hand, and took the knife to slay his son.' The learned men present muttered; 'The friar will say things to-day that will cost him his head.' But Luke preached so forcibly in favour of justice, that the Emperor wished to have a copy of the sermon, having heard it praised.† Another time, when Frederick was entering some city in solemn procession, a friar very different from Luke, coveting the honour of martyrdom, rushed out of the crowd, caught hold of the reins of his Sovereign's horse, and denounced the rider as a heretic. The guards wanted to slay, or at least to flog, the noisy rebel; but Cæsar ordered him to be let go unharmed, saying; 'The fellow would like me to inflict martyrdom upon him; but he shall never have his earnest desire at my hands.' ‡

During the latter months of 1241, Frederick kept a watchful eye upon the Cardinals, then in Conclave. Two of their body were in his hands; the other

* Rymer. † Salimbene. ‡ Vitoduranus.

ten were shut up in the Sette Sole by the Senator, until a new Pope should be chosen. These ten were divided into two parties; four against six. The Bishop of Ostia, supported by Sinibald Fiesco and Richard Annibaldi, declared for Romano the Bishop of Porto. But Frederick objected to this candidate for three reasons; Romano, while Legate in France, had been a cruel persecutor of the University of Paris, he had been accused of debauching Queen Blanche, and he had been active in inflaming the late Pope against the Emperor. Cardinal Geoffrey Castiglione of Milan was put forward by five of his brethren, including Colonna, Summercote, and Regnier of Viterbo. But no election could take place, unless two-thirds at least of the votes were given in favour of the successful candidate. In this dilemma, the Conclave begged Frederick to restore his two illustrious prisoners to Rome. He ordered the pair into his presence; when the uncompromising Bishop of Palestrina excommunicated the Emperor to his face.* Cardinal Otho was apparently more reasonable; he was allowed to rejoin his brethren at Rome, upon giving hostages and promising to return to his prison, unless he himself should be elected Pope.

The Senator kept the Cardinals in the strictest confinement. The intense heat, the scarcity of food, and the annoying delay of the election proved too much for some of them. Robert de Summercote died, and his English countrymen vowed that he had been poisoned. Sinibald Fiesco fell ill, and was almost given over. Romano, the rival candidate, died apparently not very long after this time. At last, on the

* M. Paris for 1245.

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16th of October, Cardinal Geoffrey was proclaimed Pope, and took the name of Celestine IV. He was merely meant to act as a stop-gap, for he was an aged man, the nephew of Pope Urban III.*

The new Pope only reigned seventeen days, and died before he could be consecrated. The charge of poison was once more repeated, but as usual, it is quite groundless. Whenever a person of consideration died in this age, his friends invariably talked of poison. The Cardinals had no wish to be shut up once more in the Sette Sole. They fled from Rome leaving their Lord unburied, and were scattered over Central Italy. The Roman populace flew to arms and pulled down the Castle of John Colonna, who was thrown into prison on account of his Ghibelline leanings. Cardinal Otho, faithful to his word as became one of the house of Montferrat, went back to his gaoler. The Emperor was charmed by the honourable behaviour of this clerical Regulus, and forgot in some degree the excommunications which Otho, when in England, had thundered against the persecutor of the Church. Several of the English clergy, headed by the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Lincoln, now despatched a message to Frederick, entrusting it to the begging Friars, the best travellers of the time. They charged him, as he valued his soul's health, to harass the Church no longer, since his old enemies were dead, and it was not right to make the innocent suffer for the guilty. But Frederick answered, 'Who is hindering the welfare of the Church? Not I; but the stubborn pride and greediness of the Romans. Who can wonder if I

* De Curbio and M. Paris.

withstand the English and Roman Churches, which excommunicate me, defame me, and are always pouring forth money to do me wrong?' Thus the English Prelates, who had put up their prayers for Peter while he was in prison, and who had ordered fasts and litanies to be proclaimed throughout their land, found that their well-meaning attempt was followed by no results.*

But the dismay caused in England by this failure was nothing to the turmoil that kept Italy convulsed. There had been a tremendous panic at Genoa in the disastrous summer of 1241, when her Admiral Malocello fled home with only five ships of the convoy. But the burghers were soon able to direct all their attention to a Caravan, or fleet from the East, which was expected to arrive. Frederick, so it was said, had sent forty galleys to the Riviera, to look after this rich prize; but it was brought in safely after some fighting. Ansaldo di Mari led the forty galleys up to the city, while the Caravan, so narrowly rescued, was being unladen in the harbour. Genoa, roused by the danger, fitted out a fleet of fifty-one galleys to serve under the banner of St. George, and raised the siege of Noli. Frederick's seamen made off, after throwing anchors, ladders, and siege materials into the water, and were chased for a whole day. Fulco Guercio was left in command at Noli, while the enemy lurked in Savona, within view of Genoa. The Emperor, annoyed at the failure of this attempt, ordered a combined attack to be made by sea and land. Pallavicino and Marino of Eboli, his able Captains, brought up a large force from Tuscany and

* M. Paris.

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Piedmont. But the gallant Podesta of Genoa held a great Council, and then marched forth. One enemy did not dare to leave the mountains; the other was routed with the loss of two banners. The Genoese next attempted to burn the Emperor's fleet in Savona, but were thwarted by a storm. They took post at Albenga, and saw the enemy's crews melting away by desertion. At last Ansaldo sailed back to Pisa, and thence to Sardinia and Sicily.* Genoa had escaped unharmed from the most alarming dangers; William Sordo, who had steered her through the eventful year 1241, left her in comparative safety, on his quitting power.

Oberto Pallavicino, Frederick's much-trusted Vicar, was keeping order in the Lunigiana. Finding that Pontremoli was at enmity with his native Parma, he made use of a cunning stratagem to cripple the former town. By the advice of his employer, he pretended to be ill, while sojourning at Villafranca. He then sent for the council of Pontremoli, who came with speed to visit him; he kept them all in prison, until the towers and walls of their town were levelled.† The possession of the famous pass of Monbardone between Parma and Pontremoli, the great road over the Appenines, was in the eyes of the Ghibellines only second in importance to the command of the Brenner pass in the Tyrol. The Vicar built a Castle to overawe the dismantled town, and sent sixty of its citizens into Apulia as hostages, acting by Frederick's orders. The Emperor, although residing at distant Foggia, was most attentive to affairs in Northern Italy. He bestowed charters upon

* Barth. Scriba, Ann. Genuen. † Chron. Parmense.

those who sought them, such as the monks of Lucca, and the townsmen of Gubbio and San Gemignano, while his Captain mediated between Siena and Volterra. But Frederick endeavoured to make the war in the North maintain itself, directing Marino of Eboli to exact a subsidy from the Archbishops, Prelates, Deans, and all the clergy, according to the rank and wealth of each, in order that peace might be the more speedily restored to the Empire. A pressing invitation was sent from Apulia to Nicholas, the popular Bishop of Reggio, whose counsels were earnestly sought, and who had just converted his nephews from their Guelf errors. Mantua also had become lukewarm in the cause of the Church; the Emperor promised the citizens to revisit them in the summer, and instructed them to obey the orders of his son Enzio, who would soon arrive in Lombardy and take the command of a strong body of Germans. Frederick despatched four hundred knights to be at the bidding of Lancia, his Vicar in Lombardy, whom he made Podesta of Cremona. This chief defeated the Brescians with great loss, and co-operated with Obizzo Malaspina in ravaging the lands of Piacenza.* The tract between Pavia and Milan seemed more like a wilderness tenanted by wild beasts, than a land that had once been brought under tillage.†

The vacancy in the Holy See, which lasted for a year and a half, brought no peace to unhappy Lombardy. In July, 1242, a new Ghibelline champion appeared in that province. King Enzio had already done his father good service in Sardinia, in the

* Chronicon. † Gal. Fiamma.

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March, in Tuscany, and in Romagna. But Lombardy was destined to be for seven years the chief theatre of the young Prince's exploits. He entered Parma at the head of a great army, and soon threw all the other leaders into the shade. He inspired even Montelongo with wholesome awe. Enzio flew from end to end of his district with restless activity, and gave his father's enemies no peace. Now he is burning the Guelf Castles, now throwing a bridge over the Po, now making free with a Bishop's Palace, now he is disabled for a short time by an arrow lodged in his hip. The King of Sardinia, young, handsome, and chivalrous as he was, proved himself at the same time a wary Captain, and would not hurl his men against the Milanese in an entrenched position, though he reconnoitred it for a whole week.* He was beloved by his soldiers, and carried by storm the hearts of the Italian ladies, who have ever been good judges of heroism.

Milan, Brescia, and Piacenza shrank from grappling with the Emperor's vigorous lieutenants; it was left to Genoa to bear the brunt of the war. Her stout Podesta put down a revolt of the unpatriotic Spinolas in 1242. He once more brought out the banner of St. George, harangued the people with wonderful eloquence, and equipped a fleet of eighty-three galleys, which he led forth under the protection of a piece of the true Cross. Pallavicino once more declined the combat; neither the fifty galleys of the Pisans, nor the sixty galleys of Sicily which sailed under the Imperial Eagle, dared to meet the Genoese. In November, Frederick's Ad-

* Chronicon. Salimbene.

mirals, after a second year of bootless cruising, withdrew from the North; while the powerful Marquess of Montferrat and three other nobles made their peace with the Lombard League.* This desertion was followed by many others. Early in 1243, Vercelli threw off her allegiance to the Emperor, shut her gates upon King Enzio, and welcomed Montelongo at the head of six hundred Milanese knights. Her revolt is the more wonderful, since at this time there was no Pope to head the Guelf party. Savona implored succour of Enzio, who threw into it a strong body of Pavians. It was attacked by land and sea in March, and the Genoese besieged it for six weeks. The townsmen were undergoing starvation; they sent one messenger to Enzio, and another in a swift vessel to Frederick, then not far from Pisa. This city manned eighty galleys for the Emperor, who reinforced them with fifty-five of his own. The Genoese, hearing that Lancia was coming down upon them, made a fruitless attempt to storm Savona, and then fled home, leaving their trebuchets and many dead behind them. In the summer, news came that one of their fellow-townsmen had been chosen Pope, at which, as we are told, all the Genoese, great, middling, and small, were so glad that they seemed to fly up to the stars.†

While Enzio, aided by Lancia and the Count of Savoy, was carrying on the war against the Guelfs in Piedmont and Lombardy, a more ruthless Lieutenant of the Emperor was lording it over the Trevisan March. Eccelin mastered his enemies one

* Barth. Scriba, Ann. Genuen.
† Chronicon. Barth. Scriba.

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after another. Uguccio Pilei and Peter the Count of Montebello were forced to yield up their Castles, and to place their hands in those of the conqueror. The Apulian colleagues, whom the Emperor had coupled with the Lord of Romano, found themselves gradually set aside by the superior genius of Eccelin.* Up to this time he had worn a mask; but he now broke forth into a series of revolting cruelties. Hitherto he had not carried the customary system of reprisals and punishments, savage as it was, further than any of his Guelf enemies had done; but the year 1243 is fixed upon by the Paduan Monk as the time of Eccelin's change for the worse. His master's eye was no longer upon him; it was more than three years since the Emperor had left Lombardy. The Ghibelline Proconsul had already pushed his ravages beyond the Piave, and had built a strong Castle at Padua, to the terror of the citizens. One wretch begged the favour of being allowed to construct the torture-chambers within it, and would not permit one ray of light to enter the dungeons. This man afterwards died in the pangs of starvation, a prisoner in his own toils, like Perillus in the brazen bull. A nobler victim, the Count of Panico, was beheaded on a charge of embezzlement.† Eccelin razed to the ground the stately Castle of San Bonifazio, and captured Count Richard's son in that fortress.‡ The Castle of Carrara was also destroyed by his orders. Mantua to the West and Treviso to the East were his persevering enemies; but he was the undisputed master of almost the whole tract between these cities. Even Venice stood in awe of her grim

* Antonio Godi. † Rolandini. ‡ Ricciardi Vita.

neighbour. The inhabitants of the March were thoroughly cowed by Eccelin's savage tyranny, which was upheld by strong garrisons of Germans and Arabs, paid out of the spoils of the murdered victims. 'I believe,' Salimbene writes, 'that as the Son of God created his most perfect likeness in St. Francis, the Devil did the same in the person of Eccelin. This man was feared more than the Devil; he thought nothing of killing men, women, and children.' Some were burnt alive or tortured to death; noblemen were blinded, castrated, and starved; nor were their ladies spared. Men were forced to slay their own kinsmen before being themselves despatched. Dismal groans were heard issuing from the prisons. Yet all men, even including the clergy, affected loyalty to their tyrant, calling him the Good, the Wise, the Lover of the State. Every noble house in the March suffered under his cruelties. Soldiers, merchants, judges, bishops, and monks were alike his victims. Preaching and confession were at an end; no one dared to go in public for fear of Eccelin's spies; the slightest word exposed the speaker to torture, and his family to a dungeon. The borders of the Trevisan March were guarded by soldiers, who mutilated any one attempting to escape.* Roland, the famous Dominican, had instructions from Rome in 1244 to take up his abode in some safe place, and thence to make inquiries into the monster's religious belief.† The truth is, Eccelin saw that the Empire was crumbling to pieces around him, and he hoped to create a Duchy or Kingdom for himself, carved out of the ruins. The old state

* Laur. de Monacis. † Raynaldus.

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of things, he well knew, was passing away; there was room for a bold adventurer to struggle for a share of the domains, which would otherwise be without a master. He had climbed up to his present height by the help of Frederick; he would soon be courted by both Pope and Emperor, and would laugh at the attempts of his old patron to get rid of him. Eccelin, as the event proved, grasped at too much; still, he was the first to see the possibility of founding a family Duchy in Italy; he led the way, and was followed by the Scalas, Visconti, Sforzas, Estesi, and Medici. As he was the first, so was he the worst of those petty tyrants, who have long been the curse of the land, and who only vanished, let us hope for ever, in the glorious year 1859.

While Germany and Northern Italy were being rent asunder by their own children, the nominal master of these countries was enjoying his ease in peaceful Apulia, and was watching the election at Rome. His son Henry died at Martorano early in 1242, but the Emperor was consoled for the loss of this froward youth by the successes of his other sons. He was in constant communication with Northern Italy; the Patriarch of Aquileia, the Bishops of Brescia, Bergamo, Reggio, Trieste, and Turin, the Count of Toulouse, and many German nobles were among his visitors. He had now leisure to devise measures for the good of his Kingdom; he remitted one third of the January taxes, as he had done in the previous year. Yet his preparations for war were very extensive. Both Venice and Genoa were his enemies, and obliged him to maintain a fleet of 150 galleys and 20 ships. Large quantities of biscuits were made for his seamen. Strong

measures were taken against the disloyal; outlaws, dicers, and wearers of forbidden weapons were sought out and punished; the towers of Bari were destroyed. In March, Frederick called before him at Foggia those of his deputies who had been removed from their offices, and forced them to give a strict account of their stewardship. Later in the year, he lost the most faithful of all his ministers, Henry of Morra. The Imperial Captains made inroads from the South into the Papal country, after levying the feudal array of the Kingdom. In May, Andrew of Cicala ravaged the lands around Rieti, while the Duke of Spoleto was harassing Narni. Another army fell upon Ascoli in the March, which surrendered in June. One deputy was sent to Syria, another to Sardinia. Thomas of Montenero acted as Frederick's Captain at Tivoli, upon which the Romans made an assault.* The six armies, which the Emperor was able to keep in the field, gave remote observers a vast idea of his power.†

All this time, Frederick was intent upon the election to the Papacy. In February, he sent to Rome the Archbishop of Bari, Porcastrella, and the new Master of the Teutonic Brotherhood. But the Cardinals could not agree upon electing a Pope. This provoked Frederick, who wrote to them in sharp terms, and accused them of coveting the Papal mitre each for himself. He bade them leave their factious disputes, so that Peace and Justice might have a place in the College. It ought surely to be a pattern to Christendom, not a scandal. He kept on good terms, however, with some of its members;

* Ric. San Germano. † M. Paris.

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thus he gave a charter to a monastery at the request of the peace-loving Bishop of Ostia, whom he styled his beloved friend. One of the Cardinals wrote to Peter de Vinea, imploring milder treatment for the Bishop of Palestrina, who was not allowed to see any friend or servant in his prison, and who was ill-clothed and ill-fed. What honour could this confer upon the Prince? Let Peter interpose, and recommend the adoption of piety and mercy.

The delay in the election constrained Frederick, upon whom all Christendom laid the blame, to threaten Rome sword in hand. 'Your mother,' thus he wrote to the Cardinals, 'is dying, while you are pulling different ways.' In June he came up from the South, and appeared at Capua. He next inspected Citta Nuova, which he was building, and whither he had caused many of his vassals to remove. After visiting ruined Sora, he made Avezzano his head-quarters. In July, he ravaged the country around Rome, but withdrew to Melfi in August, carrying off from Grotta Ferrata the brazen statues of a man and a cow which poured forth water; these were meant to adorn Lucera.

About this time, the Emperor set free Cardinal Otho, but kept Cardinal James of Palestrina in a Castle near San Germano, together with his English companion in captivity, John of Tollet.* The Bishop of Camerino arrived with the news of the submission of that city; Frederick pardoned it, and even allowed the burghers to keep the goods seized by them during the war. Northern Italy was generally obedient to the Emperor's Captains; Pandulf of

* Ric. San Germano.

Fasanella ruled in Tuscany, Thomas of Matera in Romagna, Robert of Castiglione in the March. But foreign princes were discontented with the Imperial policy. King Louis of France upbraided the Cardinals with their selfish delays. Did they fear the tyranny of Cæsar? they should trust in the Lord. Cowardly shepherds were more to be dreaded than wolves. They might reckon upon the help of France. She was not afraid of a Prince, whom it was hard to name, since he sought to be both King and Priest. What title had he to the latter dignity? only that of force. The Cardinals had not yet lost their right of election; let them choose a Pontiff who might deservedly be called the Vicar of Christ, a good Shepherd, and an upholder of the stability of the Church. The College was assailed by the Ghibellines in a still ruder strain; 'To you is this word, sons of Ephraim, who turn back in the day of battle; sons of Belial, sheep of scattering, beasts that have no heads, hated of the world. It is not Jesus Christ, the Mediator, who is in the midst of you, but Satan divided against himself, the father of lies. Each one of you is eager for the Chair, so none is elected, and the Church is brought to confusion. You have no head, and therefore no power of sight or hearing. The thunders of Peter and Paul are silent, and you are dumb dogs. You have, it is true, hands to grasp at gifts, but none will bring you presents, since there is no Lord in the manger. You have no feet to walk. For shame! the lowest creatures are wiser than you; birds have a leader; bees have a queen. Rachel has no husband; her little ones ask for bread, and there is no one to give it them. You see not how nigh you are to a ship-

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wreck; put on your senses and your reason once more, that you may recover your Head.'

The beginning of 1243 found Frederick at Precina, whence he swayed Northern Italy. He rewarded the nobles of Garfagnana with a Charter, and ordered their ruined castles to be rebuilt by the city of Lucca. He bade Fasanella refrain from harassing a Florentine monastery. He commanded the destruction of certain bridges over the Livenza, which were of service to rebellious Treviso, while they were a source of annoyance to the Patriarch of Aquileia. In April, the Emperor once more came up to Capua, and was there joined by Thaddeus, the Count of Montefeltro and Urbino, who brought good news from the North. Pesaro had already gone over to the Empire, and had been treated with mildness; this induced Fano to send envoys with its submission.* Frederick confirmed its consuls in their office, and granted a remission of taxes for five years. He was about to harass the Cardinals again, and wrote that an election to the Papacy was now a more probable event, since the Bishop of Porto, the great enemy of the Empire, was no more. A vast feudal army had been assembled at Capua, to make another attempt upon Rome.† Frederick razed to the ground many of the neighbouring castles, and overawed his enemies with the number of cavalry he had brought into the field. Ten thousand knights were serving under him, who came from Germany, Lombardy, and Apulia. All the Tuscans, between the Arno and the Tiber, were in his camp.‡ The Cardinals had fled, and were dispersed in different

* Amiani. † Ric. San Germano. ‡ Chronicon.

towns; Frederick, therefore, ordered their estates to be given up as a prey to his soldiers. He laid snares for the capture of these Pillars of the Church and their followers; Salimbene, who was all this time in Tuscany, was constantly being taken prisoner by the Imperial police, while making his pious journeys to Assisi or Monte Alverna, and he found himself constrained to correspond with his brethren in cipher. The Saracens, who were in arms, made a dash at Albano and sacked it, carrying off the chalices, robes, and books from the burnt churches. Frederick was moved, however, by the prayers of the bewildered Cardinals, and retreated once more into the Kingdom.

Affairs were becoming serious. It was now a year and a half since the Chair of St. Peter had been filled. The business of the Church was managed by seven Cardinals, who signed their names at the beginning of each letter, during the vacancy of the Holy See. The King of France was growing impatient. He threatened the Romans, that if a Pastor were not speedily chosen, a Gallican Pope would be set up, by virtue of an old charter said to have been granted to St. Denis by St. Clement.* But so violent was the strife which raged in the Sacred College, that one man alone, so it was said, could heal the divisions; this was Frederick's prisoner, the famous Bishop of Palestrina. Theobald Visconti, who had come to Rome after recovering from his illness in France, besought the Cardinals to demand the release of his beloved master. The Emperor granted the request in May, and sent off his captive, whom he humbly

* M. Paris.

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entreated to stand his friend. 'Lord Emperor,' answered Cardinal James, 'if you behave well, like a Catholic Prince, you will find me zealous for your honour and ready to promote your dignity. But if, which God forbid, you act otherwise, I know not with what conscience I can favour you.'* The consideration shown for the Church, in the release of Otho and James, seemed to Frederick worthy of all commemoration. In his letters to the Kings of the earth, he declares that his clemency had not only astonished but stupefied his subjects. No such act of mercy could be found in history by the most diligent student. In his despatch to St. Louis, he dwelt upon the stiff-necked behaviour of the Roman people, who had imprisoned some of the Cardinals. He had ravaged the lands around Rome at the head of an army, such as had almost equalled that of the Libyan Hannibal. An embassy sent from Anagni, consisting of the Archbishops of Rouen and Messina, the Abbots of Cluny and Clairvaux, and other Prelates, had at length prevailed upon the Emperor to return home. The letter touched on many topics calculated to interest the French King. After the release of Cardinal James, all the Transalpine Prelates and clergy, who were still in Frederick's hands, had been set free. This had been done out of respect to Louis; the Emperor was now sending the Abbot of Cluny and Walter of Ocra to demand the hand of Isabella, the sister of Louis, for young Conrad. But the proposed alliance came to nothing; Isabella preferred the nunnery of Longchamps to the Crown of the King of the Romans.†

* Vita Gregorii X.

† Nangius.

The earnest desires of the French King were at last granted. The Cardinals, who had long been scattered as sheep without a shepherd, met in the Cathedral of Anagni on the 24th of June. After singing mass and invoking the Holy Ghost, they fixed upon Sinibald Fiesco of Genoa, who took the name of Innocent IV.* The new Pope, chosen in a happy hour for Rome, was a member of one of the noblest houses in Italy, one which had been already famous for the two last centuries. Barbarossa had made its head Count of Lavagna, and Genoa had enrolled the family among her citizens. Obizzo, a cadet of the Fieschi, had been elected Bishop of Parma in 1194, and had ruled that Church for nearly thirty years. The Bishop installed his nephew, the renowned Sinibald, as one of the Canons in Parma, and married his three nieces, the Canon's sisters, to as many noble Parmesans of the Sanvitali, Rossi, and Boteri families. This bond between the city of Parma and the house of the Fieschi was afterwards productive of the weightiest results. Cardinal Ugolino, when Legate in Lombardy in 1218, was brought into contact with both the Bishop and the Canon.† Young Sinibald, who had made the most of his advantages at the University of Bologna under Azzo and Accursius, was a man after the Cardinal's own heart. The youth was famous for his knowledge of Theology and the Canon Law, knowledge which his Decretals still remain to attest. Pope Honorius made him Vice-Chancellor of the Holy See; and Pope Gregory, who had had experience of Sinibald's

* De Curbio, who was his chaplain. See the Life of Innocent by Paolo Pansa; and Salimbene.

† Salimbene, and Affo.

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statesmanlike qualities, named his young friend Cardinal of San Lorenzo in Lucina in 1227. Sinibald had been employed as his patron's representative in the Anconitan March; the very rumour that he was about to appear as Legate in Germany had struck terror into the foes of the Church. Yet at the same time he had contrived to keep on good terms with the Ghibellines; Frederick's courtiers began to rejoice on hearing of the election. Their master was less enraptured; 'I have lost a good friend,' said he, 'since no Pope can be a Ghibelline.'* Still, he ordered the Te Deum to be sung throughout the Kingdom, sending his orders from Melfi. But the heavens seemed to forebode cruel woes. In the month that followed Innocent's election, the stars seemed to be engaged in battle; and this portent was noticed at St. Albans as well as at San Germano.† England indeed would have to bear her full share of suffering in the coming troubles, and would find in the new Pope the hardest of taskmasters.

The Emperor professed to have no misgivings on the subject of the late election. In his letters to the Duke of Brabant and to others, he gave thanks to the Divine Providence, which had raised so true a friend of the Empire to the Papal chair. He wrote from conquered Benevento to the new Pope; 'Father, behold your son. The name of Innocent has been designedly bestowed upon you by Heaven, since it is by you that innocence is to be maintained.' Little did Frederick know of the future, or of the new influence which would stand in his way for the rest

* Dandolo. Gal. Fiamma.

† M. Paris. Ric. San Germano.

of his life! He had hailed the Pope as one of the nobler sons of the Empire, a subject who had hitherto been obsequious in word and deed. The old Ghibelline was to turn out as staunch an upholder of the rights of the Church, as either Hildebrand or Innocent the Third had been. The high achievement of shattering the Holy Roman Empire, a task in which former Popes had failed, was reserved for the son of the Fieschi. He belonged to that stamp of men, whereof the Ligurian coast has ever been fertile; men who set before them some grand object of incomparable difficulty, and then go straight to the mark, in spite of countless hindrances, of false friends, and of sturdy foes. The glorious Riviera may boast of having given birth to such Churchmen as Innocent the Fourth and Julius the Second, to such Captains as Columbus and Garibaldi.*

Both parties began to feel their way cautiously. Frederick sent to Anagni an embassy consisting of the Master of the Teutonic Order, the Admiral of Sicily, Peter de Vinea, Thaddeus of Sessa, and Porcastrella, who had now become Dean of Messina. Innocent on the very day of his consecration sent the Archbishop of Rouen, the Bishop of Modena, and the Abbot of San Facondo, all of whom had Ghibelline leanings, and all of whom afterwards became Cardinals, on an embassy to the Emperor at Melfi. They were to ask for the release of those of the clerks and laymen taken at sea in 1241, who were still in prison, and also for the opening of the roads.† The arbitration of Kings and Prelates in some safe

* Perhaps I ought to have reckoned Julius among the captains.

† De Curbio.

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place was proposed, as a means of giving satisfaction to both Church and Empire. Fresh remonstrances came from Innocent late in August. He could not, he said, with honour recall Montelongo from Lombardy. It was a sad thing that some of the Emperor's captives were still in chains. The Church had nothing to do with the imprisonment of Salinguerra, who had rebelled against her. No wrong was done to Frederick, if the Pope welcomed the envoys of that noble Prince, the Archbishop of Mayence; or if the Bishop of Avignon, the friend of the Count of Provence, had been appointed Legate on the Rhone. It was not true that the Church was attacking heresy in those parts, while she was winking at it in Lombardy and Tuscany. It was impossible for Innocent to grant an interview to Frederick's messengers, before they had been released from their excommunication.

The secret negotiations between the two parties have only just been brought to light.* Innocent insisted on the Lombards being included in the peace, and on the restoration of the provinces torn from the Church. Frederick averred that these last had been the gift of the Empire to the Papacy, and that they had been righteously forfeited by Gregory's rebellion. He would only offer a yearly sum of money of indefinite value, so that he might still hold these provinces as the Pope's vassal. He threw into the bargain the services of 500 knights, the payment of 30,000 silver marks, and the recovery of the Holy Land, which he

* The passage which follows was first given to the world in 1860 by M. Bréholles. It had been left out of all former editions of Frederick's famous circular, written in July, 1244. The passage is wonderfully applicable to our own times.

promised to reconquer at his own cost. The Pope, who was well aware that his future spiritual power depended in a great measure on the restoration of the lost provinces, refused the Imperial offers, but sent further proposals of his own. A general Council should decide the terms of peace. On the 2nd of September, Innocent yielded so far as to direct his three envoys to absolve Frederick's messengers; nor was this boon to be withheld from that most disobedient of sons, the Archbishop of Palermo. But the treaty of peace came to nothing, and the Pope wrote to Montelongo, bidding him encourage the Lombard Guelfs to persevere in their resistance to the Emperor; no peace would be made which did not include them. Excommunication was denounced against the Patriarch of Aquileia, who persisted in his attacks upon the Trevisans. If Berthold must fight, let him lead a Crusade against the Tartars in Hungary.* There was a general uneasiness, in spite of the frequent embassies on behalf of peace. Two Minorites were hanged by Frederick's orders, for carrying seditious letters; a strict watch was kept to prevent money from being brought to Rome. At length the smouldering fires blazed forth. Viterbo had been on the Emperor's side ever since the year 1240, when Frederick had put an end to her factions of the Cocchi and Gatti, and had carried off eighteen of her nobles as hostages.† Two years later, he had built a huge fortress on the site of the present Convent of St. Rosa, called the Castle of Hercules;

* Raynaldus.

† For the siege of Viterbo see Bussi, who quotes from Lanzellotto, the oldest writer of Italian prose that I know. His chronicle stops at 1255; he may have been present at the siege.

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it had no less than sixteen towers, many fine apartments, and a horrible dungeon much dreaded by the burghers. On the 18th of August, 1243, his Captain, Count Simon of Chieti, began to entertain suspicions of the loyalty of Viterbo; three days later one of the Gatti broke out into open mutiny; the governor withdrew into the Castle and provisioned it. Regnier Capocci led a body of troops from Sutri to his native Viterbo, and marched in amidst cries of, 'Long live the Church and death to Count Simon!' The Cardinal caused the people to take an oath to the Church, and then blockaded the Castle, which was garrisoned by 400 soldiers, Germans and Abruzzesi. It is uncertain what caused the revolt; the Guelfs talked of oppression practised by the Imperial officers; the Ghibellines denounced the black ingratitude of the men whom their master had rescued from the jaws of death. Those old enemies, Viterbo and Rome, now made a treaty of alliance; the soldiers of the two cities alike garrisoned the walls of Viterbo, and the Emperor's captured soldiers were sent off to the Roman dungeons.* He had already, at the request of the citizens, replaced Simon by the Count of Caserta, but this was before he had heard of the revolt. Tineoso, a soldier who professed that he owed all he had in the world to Frederick, sent his master an account of the doings of the traitors, whose eyes the Devil had blinded. Day and night slings, bows, crossbows, and engines on the top of the towers were at work. The garrison entreated the Emperor to succour them. 'The old Fathers,' so they wrote to him, 'did not

* M. Paris.

look for Christ's coming more eagerly, than we look for your arrival. Show your face, and we shall be saved.' The Count of Chieti, who commanded them, wrote to the Count of Caserta, Frederick's Vicar on the right bank of the Tiber; he detailed the ravages committed by the Greek fire, which the Viterbians were launching from their towers; scarcely an hour's rest was to be enjoyed. Reports were being spread that no succour was to be expected; let the Vicar come himself instead of answering the letter; not an hour was to be lost; the rebels were fighting like men who looked for no quarter, and they were being reinforced by hirelings from afar. But the Vicar made delay, which called forth a second letter from the Count of Chieti. 'You are feasting,' wrote Simon, 'while we are starving. It is no excuse to say that the Emperor himself is coming; we fear that the old proverb will prove true; "the horse is dying while the grass is growing." You might as well be in Apulia as in Tuscany. The whole of the neighbourhood has risen in rebellion, on seeing that you made delays in succouring us. The Cardinal has barely 200 knights; you have 1500, and yet you allow him to overrun the province. If you care not for it, at least take pity on us, who are flesh of your flesh and bone of your bone. Are you aware that the enemy has run mines under the Castle, and that we are looking for its fall every hour? All our provisions are gone; our horses and mules are starving; we have but three wells in the fortress for man and beast, and one of these supplies has been poisoned by the rebels. Do you not know that ladies, as well as men, are in the Castle, and are being harassed by the enemy day and night? We adjure you, by the oath under which

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you are bound to the Emperor's crown, to march forthwith; God knows that we can do no more!'

If the Count of Caserta was sluggish, it was far otherwise with Innocent. On the 7th of October the Pope, although protesting that Cardinal Regnier had gone beyond his instructions, sent to that gallant chief a quantity of gold, to pay 500 horse and 1000 foot for one month. Cavalry, so the Pope thought, could not be of much use in defending Viterbo; but Regnier must use his own judgment. The late revolt was producing an amazing effect throughout Italy, and Innocent was wielding his crozier right royally. He ordered Montelongo to sell all the property of the vacant Bishoprick of Vercelli, while the revenues of that of Lodi were to be reserved for the Papal disposal.* He accused the Bishop of Parma of sacrilege, and deprived him of his mitre. He excommunicated the Governor of Piacenza, who had treated the Papal briefs with contempt. He commanded his Genoese countrymen to restore the Archiepiscopal palace, which they had seized. He took two arch-rebels under his protection; Count Guido Guerra in Tuscany, and the Marquess of Este in the March. He bestowed high praise upon Radicofani and Perugia, which were near the seat of war and had sent help to Assisi. He looked narrowly after the interests of the Church in Todi, Orvieto, and Porto. His greatest triumph was won in Sardinia. Adelasia, who had been King Enzio's wife for five years, now sought the absolution of the Holy See, and carried many of her subjects along with her.† The tide was evidently on the turn.

* Ughelli. † Raynaldus.

But the Leaguer of Viterbo was the main point of interest. The burghers chose an Orvietan Podesta, walled up all their gates but three, and surrounded their city with enormous trenches and palisades. On the 9th of October Frederick appeared with a large army, and was joined by the laggard Count of Caserta. Three days later he attacked a post of the besieged called Palazzolo, having Peter de Vinea and Henry of Palangano at his side. The youngest men of Viterbo kept off the assailants with stones and cross-bows; the Emperor then bade his knights dismount, and join the infantry in a general assault. The Germans, Anconitans, and Spoletans, men of tried courage, filled up the trenches with stones and faggots, and forced their way across in three places. The besieged rushed to the points of attack, and beat off the Ghibellines with great slaughter; the women of Viterbo never ceased to supply their husbands with fresh stones, missiles, and provisions. Next day, the Emperor ordered his men to cut down trees and build themselves huts; his own abode was constructed near the hill of Aldobrandino, at the foot of which many caves were scooped out for the soldiers' quarters. Count Pandulf of Fasanella, who had been sent to Florence, came back with 6000 infantry, gathered from all the Tuscan towns. Frederick cut down more trees and made twenty-six wooden castles and as many bridges, to effect the passage of the trench. He set up a huge mangonel near to St. Paul's church. The Viterbians on their side contrived some iron claws, called wolf's feet, to pull down the Imperial Castles. They ran mines into the hostile camp, through which they made sallies with terrible effect. They scattered sharp

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substances over the plain to lame the enemy's cavalry. Above all, they kept good watch night and day. Cardinal Regnier ordered the towers of Cocco and of other partizans of the Empire to be razed, as a defiance to the besiegers without.

On the 10th of November, Frederick once more marched up to the trenches with his troops, castles, bridges, and machines. He felt sure of mastering the city, but the Viterbians made so stout a resistance, and wrought such havoc with the stones hurled from their two catapults, that the Ghibellines fled in disorder. The besieged upon this made a sally from their mines, and burnt the enemy's huts and wooden castles. During the whole of this Leaguer affairs were in a most curious state. The Count of Chieti, with his four hundred knights, Germans and Italians, was being blockaded in the Castle, in the heart of Viterbo. The Viterbians, blockading him, were being themselves besieged by the Emperor's soldiers. Meanwhile, the besiegers were taken in the rear by a host of Romans, who caused great annoyance. In one affray Frederick lost a gallant and beloved comrade at his side, bearing the Imperial arms. The Viterbians, on seeing this knight fall pierced by a crossbow bolt, set up a shout of joy, thinking that the Emperor himself was down; but Frederick contrived to disengage his army, and marched on, preceded by his trumpeters.* He was kept before the walls from the beginning of October to the beginning of December. Coin, as usual, was scarce with him; Bensivegna, a Florentine merchant, offered him eleven thousand pounds of Pisan

* M. Paris.

money, and received in return the grant of a silver mine, with the right of coining for two years, besides other Imperial dues raised in Tuscany. The revolt of Guido Guerra, one of the greatest Captains of the age, was a severe blow to Frederick, who wrote to the Countess Beatrice, the mother of the rebel, expressing surprise and requesting the presence of her younger son Roger. Conegliano, Toscanella, and the Counts of Bagnacavallo received Imperial charters; but the correspondence of the Emperor at this time is as nothing to that of the Pope.

The siege of Viterbo was still dragging on, when Cardinal Otho arrived in Frederick's camp, the bearer of an earnest request from Innocent and his brethren that the war might be ended. If this boon were granted, the Church would assuredly set about the work of peace, and the Cardinal would engage his honour that the Count of Chieti and the four hundred knights in the Castle should have their lives, freedom, and goods secured to them on surrendering. But Otho could not keep his pledge, special friend though he was to the Emperor. The Viterbians had been wrought up to a high pitch of fury by the begging Friars, who had promised remission of sins to all the Guelf combatants. An assault was made upon the Ghibelline troops, as they came out of the Castle; Otho himself was besprinkled with the blood of the wounded, and was in fear for his own life. The property of the garrison, which ought to have been respected, was given up to be plundered. Frederick's friends in the town were thrown into prison, and their houses were burnt by the angry mob. He drew off his army, and quitted the walls which had baffled him. Cardinal Regnier, the hero of the

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siege, had fought manfully, as became the old friend of St. Dominic, in whose honour he founded the famous Viterbian convent of Santa Maria a Gradi. Not satisfied with his laurels, the warlike Churchman overran the whole of the district; and the Romans who came to his aid burnt the fortresses and cottages of the Ghibelline party. The Emperor's stately Castle of Hercules was razed to the ground in January.* Frederick insinuated that these Romans, who had not dared to leave their walls while he was attacking them in the summer, would not have been so bold in the winter had they not been promised remission of their sins; a charge aimed at the Pope. The Quirites cared but little apparently for Cæsar's letter reproaching them with having drunk of the cup of Babylon and with ravaging the lands of Tivoli. He was somewhat too bold in boasting to them that the earth served him, the sea favoured him, and all his wishes succeeded at his nod. At this very time the old rumours against his character were being whispered; he did not attend public worship, or pray, or reverence the clergy; the Saracen harem and the Saracen fortress at Lucera were obvious topics, in which his enemies revelled.† A steady reaction was going on. Twenty Novarese knights, who had been serving in the Emperor's army, fled to Rome; whereupon Novara rebelled in December.‡

As Frederick went down, Innocent rose higher and higher. The Pope left Anagni, and was wel-

* Tucto lo Castello dercole fu scarcato, nel quale eran 16 torri e molti belli Palazzi. Lanzellotto, who says there were 197 towers in Viterbo.

† M. Paris. ‡ Chronicon.

comed to Rome amid the greatest rejoicings on the 16th of October. He was besieged by the merchants, who had lent the late Pope forty thousand marks. Innocent was forced to live in private so as to shun these noisy creditors, but in the end he contrived to pay them all, and confounded them by his patience.* He gave a hearing to the Count of Toulouse, who had come on Frederick's behalf, after having spent several days in hunting at Melfi.† The Emperor had also called in the mediation of his English brother-in-law. He strengthened himself still further by sending Brother Elias to the East, to make a match between Vataces and Manfred's sister. Another object of the mission was to solicit a truce between the Greek and Latin pretenders to Constantinople. Frederick was now, in addition to his other misdemeanours, denounced as a schismatic, for giving his daughter to Vataces.‡

He had drawn off from Viterbo, after seeing his engines and waggons burnt; two months had been wasted on the siege. While he was at Acquapendente, his camp was visited by John von Wildeshusen, the General of the Dominicans. This friar was accompanied by a novice of sixteen, who was a born subject of Frederick's, being a son of Landulf, one of the Lords of Aquino. The boy had studied at Monte Cassino and Naples under the best masters. His elder brother Rinaldo, at this time serving under the Emperor's banner, wished to draw the youthful Dominican back into the world. The

* De Curbio.

† Ric. San Germano, who unhappily stops at this point.

‡ M. Paris.

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knight accordingly who had great influence at Court, gained the help of Peter de Vinea and wrested the boy out of the hands of the General, while the travellers were resting by the side of a fountain. The youthful captive was sent back to the Kingdom under a guard of soldiers, there to be shut up in a Castle belonging to his own family, and to be assailed with threats and prayers, until he should give up the Preacher's garb. He made his escape from a window after a year's imprisonment, and then hastened to sit at the feet of Albert the Great at Cologne and Paris, far from the din of Italian broils. This boy of sixteen, who was seized at Acquapendente with the Emperor's connivance, became the most shining light of the Dominican Order, and is well known as Thomas Aquinas, the greatest of the Schoolmen.*

In the beginning of 1244, the Emperor seemed bent on maintaining his grasp on Central Italy. We find him near Foligno in January, whence he passed to Grosseto in Tuscany, returning to his old quarters at Acquapendente for March and April. He was surrounded by his officers of state and by the noble foreigners whom he gathered around him. He added at this time some new laws to the Sicilian Code. He rebuked the Dalmatian seamen for hoisting his Eagle on their masts, in order to make piratical seizures of Apulian vessels; all such damages must be made good within two months. He bestowed a charter upon the Ghibellines of Imola, who had vowed to live and die for him and his Empire. He made a grant of silver mines to a citizen of Prata,

* Ptol. Lucensis, who was his confessor, and who lived far into the next century.

and rewarded other lieges in Tuscany. All this time, the Count of Toulouse was untiring in his efforts for peace between the Church and Empire; Frederick became so hopeful as to summon the Bishop of Worms and other Princes to a Diet shortly to be held at Verona. On the 12th of March, Peter de Vinea and Thaddeus of Sessa were sent to Rome with full powers for treating; and a fortnight later these powers were renewed. The learned envoys were now reinforced by the Count of Toulouse, to whom the Pope had been most gracious. Innocent had even recommended Raymond to King Louis, alleging that the Count had no small place among the Princes of Earth. It would be desirable to arrange a truce between the Lords of Languedoc and Provence.* A far more important truce seemed to be now on the eve of accomplishment. The Bishop of Ostia, with three other Cardinals, Stephen, Giles, and Otho, acted for the Pope; and articles of peace were at last drawn up. All the lands of the Church were to be given back to the Papacy. An Imperial letter was to certify the world of Frederick's repentance, and of his acknowledgment of the Papal claims. Alms and fasting were to atone for his past misdeeds. Full compensation was to be made to the captured Prelates. All who had fought on the side of the Church were to obtain a free pardon and indemnity. The Northern Guelf nobles were to be judged by their peers, and a Bishop was to be appointed to watch the proceedings. All prisoners in Frederick's hands must be given up; all exiles were to be recalled. The Pope and Cardinals were to act as umpires

* Raynaldus.

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between the Emperor and the Roman citizens. Montelongo was forgiven, and the land of Count William restored. Everything seemed to be granted to the Pope; nothing to the Emperor. A number of the articles were very loosely worded, and were specially left to the future decision of Innocent and his brethren. The Latin Emperor of Constantinople, who had by this time arrived in Italy, Cardinal Otho, and the Archbishop of Rouen were the three Papal commissioners.

On Holy Thursday, March 31, the three Imperial envoys took the oath on Frederick's behalf in the great square before the Lateran Palace. The Cardinals, the Senator and people of Rome, and a vast multitude from all parts of the world, drawn to the city for the Easter services, were witnesses to the engagement. Then Innocent preached a sermon, and announced Frederick's speedy return to the bosom of the Church.* The Emperor sent the joyful news to Conrad, and bade his son and the other German Princes prepare for the Diet, soon to be assembled at Verona. 'Praise the Lord,' wrote a Ghibelline to the captives, 'the prisons on either side will soon be thrown open!' But the second attempt at peace fared no better than that undertaken in the former year. Innocent grew uneasy at the underhand plots of the Ghibellines in Rome. One of the Cardinals wrote to Frederick, charging him with having bribed these men to revolt. 'O Dearest of Princes,' so ended the letter, 'be watchful to uphold the union of Church and Empire; keep for your descendants the breasts that you

* De Curbio.

have sucked!' Two of the Frangipani had been frightened into handing over to Frederick half of the Coliseum and a palace on the outside of that ruin. Innocent, having no wish to see Imperial garrisons so close to the Lateran, declared that the fortresses in question were a fief of the Roman Church, and annulled the gift, which had been extorted at Acquapendente. He declared that he would not take the advice of the Ghibelline Cardinals. Contrary to his engagements to keep the proposed treaty a secret, he made it public; and copies of it were openly sold at the Lateran for sixpence, to the grief of his Brethren. He avowed his belief that it would cost the Imperial Treasury more than 400,000 marks of silver to compensate the wrongs done to the Prelates. He flew into a rage, when speaking of the compromise attempted with the Lombard states, because he could not have his own way exactly in that matter. He boldly promised to help these rebels, even should the Emperor obtain absolution.* There was but slender hope of peace, if the Pope was to act in this way. On the 30th of April, he avowed his conviction that Frederick had not been sincere in the late negotiations. The Pope animated the Landgrave of Thuringia to carry out some mysterious purpose just begun; a purpose which came to light two years afterwards. The Emperor on his side vehemently protested that some forger of truth had fabricated adulterous letters to defame him; the Imperial seal had been fraudulently used. He appealed to God that he was guiltless of stirring up strife among the Romans. He refused, in the critical

* See Frederick's circular of July.

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state of affairs, to set his captives free, and laughed at the messengers of Rome. To make amends for his backwardness, he attempted to dazzle Innocent, by requesting the hand of one of the Papal nieces for Conrad. But Innocent, although by no means averse to nepotism, was not the man to be lured by a proposal which Gregory had already spurned.* The great quarrel could not be soldered up by a mere matrimonial tie between the houses of Hohenstaufen and Fiesco.

In May, Frederick shifted his quarters to Spoleto. He assured his friends at Bergamo that he could not return to Lombardy before making peace with Rome; they must be satisfied as yet with the presence of Enzio. That chief was soon afterwards reinforced by the Margrave of Hohenburg, whose ravages were severely felt by the Lombards, especially after the famine of this year.† Yet the Emperor declared, in his letter to the Crown of France written about this time, that he had always hated war owing to his natural mildness of character! It was a sad thing, he averred, that peace had very few advocates; the war with Rome was far worse than any civil war. The Count of Toulouse, and Cardinal Otho, who had just been promoted to the Bishoprick of Porto, were the chief advocates of concord. The august body to which Otho belonged was recruited at Whitsuntide. By the end of this year, only six out of the twelve Cardinals, whom Gregory had left, were to be found in the College. John Colonna died in the spring, James the Bishop of Palestrina in the summer

* De Curbio. † Chronicon.

of 1244.* Innocent held an ordination in St. Peter's, when he created three Cardinal Bishops, three Cardinal Priests, and six Cardinal Deacons, many of whom were Frenchmen.† The new creation made its influence felt in the Church for nearly forty years.

After performing this last great act, Innocent bade a long farewell to Rome, and reached Civita Castellana on the 7th of June. Frederick was at Terni, which was at war with its neighbour Narni; the Pope had declared that there should be no peace until the men of Terni, the creatures of the Emperor, had made good all the losses of Narni.‡ Still, Innocent had chosen this theatre of civil war as the spot for making terms with the great enemy, and had rejected the proposal to meet Frederick in some city of the Campagna, which might be made neutral ground. It was to Narni that the Bishop of Porto was sent, the harbinger of peace. All this time the Viterbians, almost within sight of the Papal residence, were slaughtering and plundering the friends of the Empire; Frederick, intent on peace, did not interpose. He and the Cardinal were busy in arranging terms, near that classic spot, where the Velino, fresh from the uplands of Rieti, comes thundering down over lofty cliffs on its way to join the sulphurous Nera. Here it was that Virgil's Fury vanished, after filling Italy with discord; discord now to be renewed.

The freedom of Lombardy was the great question in debate; the Emperor referred to the terms offered

* M. Paris. Vita Gregorii X. † De Curbio.
‡ Raynaldus.

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before and after Cortenuova, and to the many compromises attempted by former Popes. The Bishop of Porto was reinforced by his brother of Albano, and by Baldwin and Raymond; it was further arranged that Innocent should come on to Rieti. But the Pope had been merely throwing dust in the Imperial eyes throughout all these pretended negotiations; he was resolved to withdraw himself from the Imperial clutches. He uttered no puling threats of burying himself in the Catacombs. He was not content to be propped up by the lances of a foreign army in Rome. He would be a free agent abroad, if he could not be a free agent in Italy. He had arranged with his brother Obizzo and the Genoese to have a fleet at Civita Vecchia; and this had now arrived. Innocent accordingly on the 27th of June fell back on Sutri, instead of advancing to Rieti; meanwhile, all things needful for a sea voyage were being made ready. His chaplain admires 'the wise and salutary fiction' concocted for the occasion. A report was got up that three hundred Tuscan knights were coming to seize his Holiness. Innocent mounted his horse soon after midnight and left Sutri, followed by his nephew Cardinal William Fiesco, his Chamberlains, and Nicholas of Corby, the English friar who has related the events of this momentous journey. The Pope fled 'like another Mattathias,' galloping through rough and abrupt passes in the mountains and through dark woods. At nine in the morning he reached Civita Vecchia, thoroughly worn-out. Five Cardinals, riding hard after him, arrived in time to embark along with him on board the Genoese fleet, when evening came. The fugitives were much harassed by storms, which drove them into Porto

Venere, and kept them there for three days. On the 7th of July, they sailed into Genoa, and met with a hearty welcome from the Pope's countrymen. All the streets were hung with silks embroidered with gold; trumpets, drums, and cymbals were echoing through the city, while choristers sang, and the people gave thanks to God for saving His Christ. 'Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord,' was the universal cry; to which Innocent replied with the text, 'Our soul is escaped as a bird from the snare of the fowler.' He was met by the Archbishop at the head of the clergy, and was installed in the Palace. His charges were defrayed by the State of Genoa, so long as he sojourned there.*

Frederick saw all his plans overturned in a moment by the masterly stroke just described. He gnashed his teeth like a Satyr, and quoted the text, 'The wicked fleeth when no man pursueth.' He upbraided the guardians of his harbours with their carelessness in allowing his enemy to slip through their fingers. All the approaches to Genoa by land were watched, to prevent any money from France reaching the Pope.† Frederick summoned before him all the Bishops and clergy who were on their way home from Rome, and gave them his version of the late transactions.‡ He resolved to hold a council of his allies at Pisa on the first of August, and in the mean time put forth a very lengthy Circular, entering most fully into the details of the late negotiations and their sudden end. 'Even the Cardinals,' so wrote the Emperor, 'were not aware of the intended Papal

* M. Paris. De Curbio. Barth. Scriba. † M. Paris.
‡ Chronicon.

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flight.' If anything could console him for the failure of his plans, the steady loyalty of his Pisan subjects, among whom he was now sojourning, must have been a source of pleasure. It was only in the previous year that they had manned their fleets for his service, and had shot their silver-tipped arrows into the harbour of Genoa in token of defiance. They were deprived of all the rites of the Church for no less than thirty years, as a punishment for their onslaught on the Prelates in 1241, for their seizure of ten Castles in the mountains belonging to the Bishop of Lucca, and for their invasion of the Garfagnana.* Salimbene, who was at this time living amongst the Pisans, remarked that their hatred of Genoa, Lucca, and Florence was as thoroughly ingrained as the enmity between men and serpents, between dogs and wolves.

Even now, Frederick made one more appeal to Innocent. He sent an old envoy, Raymond of Toulouse, from Pisa to Savona, with renewed proffers of peace.† But it was too late; and Frederick was constrained to avow; 'When I used to play at chess with Cardinal Fiesco, I always checkmated him, or took one of his best pieces; but the Genoese have put their hands on the board and have made me lose the game.'‡ In a certain Charter given at this time, the Emperor seems boldly to defy the Pope's authority. Barbarossa, when at war with Rome in 1166, had caused his puppet the Antipope Paschal to canonize Charlemagne, styling the old warrior, 'Confessor and Martyr!§ Barbarossa's grandson now

* Salimbene. † Barth. Scriba. ‡ Paolo Pansa.

§ The whole of Barbarossa's charter fully confirms Juvenal's dictum; 'Facile est barbato imponere regi.'

confirmed every word of the Charter granted on that occasion, acting at the request of three envoys from Aix-la-Chapelle who appeared at Pisa. Thus the honours of 'the most holy Charles' were ratified by his Imperial successors, without the slightest reference to the rightful Papal authority.

After rebuking the ingratitude of the citizens of Avignon and the Bishop of Viviers, the enemies of Raymond, and after visiting Lucca, Frederick returned to his Kingdom. He recruited his finances by laying a poll-tax of one taren upon his subjects; and this taxation was enforced more harshly than ever before. The Emperor was at Castel del Monte in October, where he received seven hundred ounces of gold from Caraccioli, the Justiciary of the province of Bari. This deputy, on being rated by his master for not having brought more money, answered; 'Lord, if my service displeases you, provide yourself with another agent; the towns are thoroughly stripped.' Frederick, more angry than ever, turned to Thaddeus of Sessa, and declared that it was only from love to Master John that the life of Caraccioli was spared; otherwise the Justiciary would have been thrown from the battlements of the Castle. He was speedily replaced in his office by Raalch, a Saracen, who had been harbour-master of Barletta. Every one of the lieges was ordered to pay his quota, under pain of the galleys, by the feast of St. Andrew.*

While the great enemy was bending his steps to the South, Innocent was moving towards the North.

* Mat. Spinello. I follow the Duc de Luynes in his arrangement of this author's dates.

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Disabled by sickness, the Pope was borne in a litter to the convent of Sestri, where his friends despaired of his life. After his recovery, he granted interviews to the Marquesses of Carretto and Montferrat, and boldly advanced to Asti. On the gates being shut in his face, he lodged in a neighbouring convent, until later in the day the repentant Ghibellines knelt at his feet and besought him to enter their walls. He then went on to Susa at the foot of Mont Cenis, where he was met by several of the Cardinals, who had made their way in disguise through Italy and now rejoined their Lord. The illustrious party crossed the Alps, toiling through the November snows. At Chambery, Innocent had the joy of welcoming the absent King of Bohemia back to the side of the Church. A dangerous voyage of three days up the Rhone brought the exiles, on the 2nd of December, to Lyons, their destined abode for six years.* A better spot for their great purpose could not have been chosen. It nominally belonged to the Empire, but was practically a free city under its Archbishop. It was situated midway between France, Germany, and Italy; and provisions in abundance could be brought down the Rhone and the Sâone.

The King of France had refused to throw open his realm to Innocent, although the whole of the Cistercian Order had begged the favour on their knees. The nobles were afraid of the Pope's approach, and even the clergy were not all of one mind. A priest in Paris, on receiving the Papal mandate to excommunicate Frederick, thus addressed his flock; 'I know

* De Curbio.

not whether the Pope or the Emperor be the cause of the serious controversy that has arisen; but I excommunicate the guilty party, whichever of the two it be; and I absolve the innocent party.' The priest, whose jest was widely circulated, was punished by Innocent, but rewarded by Frederick.*

The Pope had looked to England also for shelter, but in vain. The nobles were enraged at his interference in behalf of the Welsh; the clergy were ground down by his exactions. The greatest Prelates were degraded into becoming his agents. Among other letters of the time, we find briefs directed by Innocent to Grosseteste, ordering him to put Gregory of Romagna, the rash Legate, into possession of the living of Coleby, the revenues of which were collected by the Italian's Proctor.† A struggle was going on in London between Master Martin, the Pope's agent, and Walter of Ocra, the Emperor's envoy. Frederick caused a letter to be laid before the English statesmen, in which he defended himself, promised to free England from the tax laid on it by Innocent the Third, but threatened vengeance if more money were collected for the Pope's behoof. The King indeed was very willing, at the suggestion of the Cardinals, to gratify Innocent the Fourth with an invitation to England; but the King's councillors withstood the project, although the Holy Father had openly avowed his wish to see the enjoyments of Westminster and the riches of London. The usury and simony of the Roman Court made

* M. Paris.

† Regesta of Innocent, MSS. British Museum; II and III years.

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England, France, and Arragon alike averse to its presence.*

In spite of these rebuffs, Innocent's finances began to prosper after his Court had been transferred to Lyons. The French Abbots and Bishops were most bountiful, and were rewarded by promotion in the Church. The old and virtuous Archbishop of Lyons was persuaded after a few months to resign his mitre, which was given to Philip, one of the brothers of the Count of Savoy, a fierce warrior not yet in priest's orders, who already held the See of Valence. This was strongly suspected to be a simoniacal bargain.† All being now ready for his purpose, the Pope on the 3rd of January, 1245, sent forth his summons to a General Council, whither Frederick himself was cited. On Holy Thursday, the Emperor, King Enzio, and Lancia were excommunicated.‡ Innocent's time in the interval before the meeting of the Council was fully occupied. He applied himself to the hearing of causes, and in a very short space decided many that his predecessors had left in arrear. He established in his Court a school for theology, law, and the Decretals. He filled his Palace with Minorite friars, whom he employed to distribute his alms among the sick and poor of Lyons, sending the brethren every day to the hospitals and from house to house. Both Dominicans and Franciscans were often charged with still more weighty errands; they were despatched to the frozen shores of the Baltic, and into the deserts of Tartary, on the messages of the Church.§ The influence of Rome grew apace.

* M. Paris.
† M. Paris.
‡ Chronicon.
§ De Curbio.

Money was extorted from all quarters, and it was said that no Pope was ever richer than Innocent the Fourth. The revenues wrung by the Italian priests from England alone amounted to sixty thousand marks a year, a sum larger than King Henry's income; that long-suffering Monarch was at length beginning to turn restive, and found that his subjects were eager to back him.* Satires were freely bandied about; one of them ran as follows; 'Pecunia, Empress of the Romans and of all the earth, to all her beloved sons, greeting. I lift up my voice in all the streets; I say unto you, that before Abraham was, I was. O all ye that pass by, give heed and see whether ever honour was like unto my honour! To me flee all Kings and nations; the Roman Court serves me. Here will I dwell unto the end of time; the Roman Court have I chosen out. What greater joy could befall me, than that all the Cardinals should bow their necks and run after the savour of my incense? The Church never closes her breast against me; the Pope willingly opens his arms to me. I will give you abundance, and our best friend in maintaining it will be — Avarice.' †

The money thus gained was freely spent, but all the Pope's lavish expenditure could not reconcile the townsmen of Lyons to his interference. They threatened to throw the Canons, whom he intruded upon their Cathedral, into the Rhone. His saucy door-keeper lost a hand, which an angry citizen cut off. Innocent's wardrobe and many valuable papers were burnt. His life was chequered by alternate success and defeat. At one time, he was rejoiced by a train of

* M. Paris. † Vatican MSS. quoted by Von Raumer.

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eighty fine palfreys, richly accoutred, the gift of a French Abbot. At another time, the resistance encountered by his agents in England caused him to scowl, and threaten to crush the petty princes that were kicking against him.* His great weakness was nepotism; it was said that 'he built up Zion in his blood.' There were many of the Fieschi and the Counts of Lavagna, for whom he was careful to provide. He bestowed the red hat on two of his Genoese nephews during his Pontificate.† He had other kinsmen at Parma, Rossi, Boteri, Sanvitali, Tavernieri, upon whom he heaped preferment. One nephew became Bishop of that city; another had the mitre of Reggio; a third was gratified a few years later with the Patriarchate of Antioch; a fourth relative was created Count of Romagna, and was married to the heiress of the Traversari.‡ The Papal nieces were equally well provided for; one was given to the Lord of La Tour du Pin, with a dowry of 20,000 marks of silver; another, Beatrice Fiesco, was wedded to Count Thomas of Savoy.§ But though Innocent was guilty of weakness in this particular, he was unbending in his assertion of his high office. Thus the worthy Lombard, who adorned the Patriarchate of Antioch, was now going to and fro between the Pope and the Emperor; but with no result. Frederick wrote a dutiful letter; but Innocent stood out for the old terms of peace, and publicly cited

* M. Paris.

† One of these, Ottobon Fiesco, was afterwards Legate in England, and then became Pope; Dante meets him in Purgatory.

‡ Salimbene. De Varagine. § M. Paris.

his enemy to appear before him at the approaching Council.

The Emperor was much at Foggia in the early part of 1245, when he exacted more money from his Apulian subjects; but this time it was on the old feudal plea of the marriage of his daughter Margaret, whom he bestowed on the infant son of the Margrave of Meissen. He groaned over the late disasters in the Holy Land, the fruit of the Kharizmian inroad, and he hailed St. Louis as a useful ally, when the King first took the Cross on recovering from sore sickness. Frederick had much foreign correspondence at this time. The famous struggle between two families for the possession of Flanders, the cause of so much bloodshed, was now brought under his notice. He congratulated the King of England on the birth of another son. He answered the proposal of the Duke of Austria, who had suggested Villach in Carinthia as a suitable place for the approaching Diet, but the Emperor refused to wander away so far from his Lombard rebels; these were to be roughly handled in June before the ripening of the corn, so as to starve them out. The Duke must therefore bring his niece, Frederick's newly-betrothed consort, to Verona.

Intent on holding this Diet of the Empire, Frederick left Apulia in April. He rode up from the South with the Patriarchs of Antioch and Aquileia at his side. The former was one of the Roberti of Reggio, a most useful adviser in the present crisis, since he had taken part in the Lateran Council. He had been a Prelate of loose morals, but had been converted by his wonderful escape from death during the great earthquake at Brescia in 1222, of which

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city he had then been Bishop. Since that time, he had never eaten flesh and had never broken his vows of chastity. He must have viewed with displeasure a mode of life so opposed to his own, as was that of the Emperor; nor was his brother Patriarch of Aquileia, although a Ghibelline of the Ghibellines, altogether satisfied. Berthold had tried hard to avoid hearing mass in company with Frederick after the excommunication in 1239, and had in vain excused himself on the plea of other engagements.* These two Churchmen were now persuading the Emperor to spare Central Italy. He began to ravage it with unsparing severity, halted at Montalto early in May, and remained for a fortnight to plague the Viterbians, cutting down their vines and burning their castles. He was hospitably received at Acquapendente, but on leaving it, he ordered the Castle to be burnt, and the better class of inhabitants to be carried off to the Kingdom, suspecting their loyalty. Peter de Vinea and the cruel Vitale of Aversa, 'two boiling vessels of iniquity,' carried out these commands in the usual treacherous way, while the women of the town fell a prey to the Saracens. An account of Frederick's destructive inroad was sent to Lyons, the work of some bitter Guelf partizan. In it the Emperor is abused as a master of cruelty, a changer of the age, a hammer of all the world, a Lucifer who tried to climb up to heaven, who made the Bishops and clergy kiss his feet while he sat as Lord in the Lord's temple. He had fallen after his excommunication like the great Dragon, drawing no small part of the stars at his tail, though he thought that he could change

* Salimbene.

laws and seasons. His courtiers affirmed that the soul perished along with the body; he was more wicked than Herod, Nero, or Julian; a new Nimrod, a mighty hunter of iniquity before the Lord; he hoped that he should now be able to break up the approaching Council. Let not the Church be tricked; this Sampson could not be held even by seven ropes, and cared but little for oaths. The terms he proffered were a mere snare; how could he be absolved, while he was still keeping many Bishops and priests in his dungeons? O that the Lord would grant the spirit of wisdom to His Vicar! If Achan was stoned for a slight theft, what did the Emperor deserve who had robbed so many Churches of their treasures? 300,000 ounces of gold, it was said, had been carried off. Saul had his Doeg; Frederick had not one, but many murderers, ready to slay the saints. If Korah deserved death for offences against the law of Moses, how much more did this profane wretch, who had forced priests to celebrate in his presence! Let him be hurled forth from the sanctuary, and let his memory be forgotten, like that of Jeroboam who made Israel to sin. If he were to be forgiven, there would be a subversion of Justice, a crime which the Lord would punish. Frederick had an iron neck and a brazen forehead; like Uzziah, he wished to be both priest and king; like Belshazzar, he had profaned the sacred vessels of the Church. His oaths were fleeting as morning clouds; he resembled the apostate Angel, being eager to creep into the place of the Most Highest. The Emperor had been ungrateful to the Church which had fostered him; he had burnt friars, profaned the Mass, robbed Churches, and given up their altars to his Saracens. He had turned the Cathedral of

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Amelia into a stronghold, while his Deputy, Count Simon, had cast the body of its patroness outside the walls. This new Herod had driven his own son to a death of despair. He had shut up three Empresses in his secret prison and had poisoned them by means of his cook. A fourth consort was now so deluded by ambition as to be about to marry the tyrant; little did she know what her future lot would be, mewed up by a jealous husband who feared for himself what he had done to others.*

These letters, so full of hearsay and misstatement, are a sample of the hatred borne to Frederick by the Guelfs. Little hope could there be of peace, while such a spirit as this was abroad; fostered as it was by the presence of four Cardinals, whom Innocent had left behind in Central Italy. One of these was Rinaldo Conti the fat Bishop of Ostia, of whom we hear literally nothing during the six stirring years that followed the Papal flight; a strong proof of the insignificant character of this successor of Innocent in the Papacy. A very different commissioner was the aged Cardinal Regnier, who made Perugia his head-quarters, and thence rekindled the war throughout the provinces. He found an able colleague in his Roman contemporary, Cardinal Stephen. The fourth of the party was Cardinal Richard, one of the noble Annibaldi, who outlived all the others.†

The struggle was carried on with ruthless ferocity. That part of the Patrimony, which had of old been a garden of pleasure, was now turned into a wilderness. What took place at the small town of Corneto in this year gives us some idea of the horrors of the

* Alb. von Beham. † De Curbio.

war that was raging throughout the Northern half of Italy. Several of the townsmen were taken in a skirmish, and Frederick sent orders to hang them, unless Corneto were given up to him. Vitale of Aversa, his Captain in the Patrimony, led forth thirty-two of the prisoners, who had been kept in irons for seven weeks; the gibbets were set up on the banks of a stream near Corneto, and the Guelf patriots were hanged. Their bodies were buried by their countrymen, whom they had bravely exhorted to hold out; and the names of the victims, embalmed with much ingenuity in the rhyming verse of a Cornetan notary, were sent to Cardinal Regnier. The chances of war went equally against the Guelfs in the March. All the cities of that province had leagued themselves with Perugia, Urbino, and Ancona, under the Papal banner; though Macerata was still held by the Ghibellines.* In August, the Emperor sent a letter of thanks to his Captain, Robert of Castiglione, for having laid waste the lands of Camerino and driven the enemy to starvation and self-destruction. The piracies practised by the Venetians on the coast were at length checked.

In Florence the dissensions in politics were aggravated by dissensions in religion. On the 13th of August, the Dominican Inquisitors publicly protested in the Piazza of Santa Maria Novella against the Podesta, as an abettor of heresy; he had quashed one of their sentences, by virtue of a mandate from the Emperor. A fortnight later, Bishop Ardingo and the Inquisitor announced that they had found two heretical Prelates in a house, men who were in the habit

* Amiani, Fano.

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of practising the imposition of hands. It was made a matter of complaint that these heretics, contrary to the canons of the late Pope Gregory, had refused to denounce their own mothers! The Paterines rose upon their persecutors, rang the bells, displayed banners, and assailed with missiles a congregation which was being edified by the lawful Bishop in a Church. Another fight, in which the heretics were routed, took place on the Ponte Vecchio; it is commemorated by a pillar still standing, adorned with the statue of Peter Martyr the famous Dominican, whose doom Titian has pourtrayed, and who took a leading part in the Florentine broils.*

A short time before these outbreaks, the Emperor had passed through Tuscany, followed by a long train of horses, mules, camels, and dromedaries, the bearers of his treasures. His way lay through Pisa and Parma to Verona, which he reached by the end of May, sending Enzio in the mean time to burn and ravage around Piacenza.† He despatched another letter to the Cardinals at Lyons, reminding them that the Pope was bound to pray for his persecutors, and to listen to proposals for peace. The old city of Verona was now crowded with guests for several weeks. Many of the great nobles of Southern Germany appeared, such as the Dukes of Austria, Meran, and Carinthia, the Count of Tyrol, Eberhard the aged Archbishop of Salzburg, who had been faithful to Frederick ever since 1212, the Chancellor Siffrid from Ratisbon, the fiery Bishop of Passau, and those of Freisingen, Brixen, and Bamberg. King Conrad once more met his father, after a separation of seven

* Lamio, Florence, vol. ii.

† Chronicon.

years, attended by his trusty guardians of the house of Hohenlohe, and by Rodolph of Habsburg. The Latin Emperor of the East, an exile from the Bosphorus, came to the Diet held by his more fortunate brother of the West. Verona was one of the cities under the sway of Eccelin da Romano, whose cruelties had long been a disgrace to the Ghibelline cause. Frederick had for some time past shown a desire to get rid of this ruffian, and had kept up of late years a close correspondence with Eccelin's Mantuan enemies. These Guelfs had taken Ostiglia, a castle of great strength on the Po, and had cast into their dungeons Eccelin's garrison, a thousand strong. The Emperor, if we may judge by his letters just brought to light, preferred the friendship of the Mantuan Guelfs to the alliance of his own Viceroy. The Lord of Romano had moreover divorced the second wife given him by Frederick, a sister of Galvano Lancia, and had dismissed her brother from the office of Podesta of Padua, on account of misconduct. There were many causes therefore of disagreement between the Emperor and his savage lieutenant, and it was whispered that the former aimed at making himself undisputed master of Verona. The policy he employed for this object was to arouse the jealousy always raging between his German and Italian subjects. A quarrel was got up between the followers of the Duke of Austria and the Veronese citizens, the pretext being the sale of a horse. A noble comrade of the Duke's was killed in the affray by the Italians, who took Eccelin's advice and bore no insults from the Transalpines. The battle began at twilight, the bridge over the Adige being its scene; swords, lances, and javelins were freely used. Duke Frederick,

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highly enraged, went off to lay his complaints of the outrage, which was never redressed, before the Emperor.* The pair were as unable to agree now, as they had been ten years before; they parted without any friendly salutation. The Austrian had been lured to Verona by the gift of an Imperial ring, brought him by the Bishop of Bamberg, as a pledge that his Duchy should be advanced to the rank of a Kingdom.† But no Crown as yet fell to the lot of the Lords of Vienna. A charter indeed is extant, whereby the Kaiser bestows the promised honour, and also erects the province of Carniola into a Duchy. But it is not probable that this grant ever left the Imperial Chancery, where it was drawn up. Duke Frederick marched home with his gallant train, eager to attack Bavaria, which was now on the Hohenstaufen side.‡ The only benefit he reaped by his journey to Verona was a confirmation of Barbarossa's old grant to the Dukes of Austria, whose male race was doomed to extinction within a year's time. Gertrude, the fair niece of the Duke, did not bestow her hand upon the Kaiser after all; it was rumoured that she shrank from an alliance with a Prince under the ban of Rome.§

* Rolandini. See also Anon. Chron. Rhythmicum, in Rauch:

'Ab eventu dubio dolus instauratur
Duci, nam crepusculo bellum intentatur,
Dolosus Ytalicus falerâ stipatur,
Cumanus, Theutonicus, Duxque mox armatur,
Et in pontis medio festum celebratur.
Jaculis et ensibus et lancis foratur
Latus tunc Ytalicum; tandem quies datur.
Graciosus rediit, paxque simulatur,
Ars ut artem falleret; Dux exhilaratur,
Cæsaris ad palatium palam cuncta fatur.'

† Chron. Garstense. ‡ Chron. Garstense. § M. Paris.

The Head of Germany, meeting his Transalpine lieges for the last time, got through much Northern business during the six weeks of his stay at Verona. He established yearly fairs at Bamberg and Spires, and gave other boons to Worms and Oppenheim. Conrad and Godfrey von Hohenlohe had certain rights duly confirmed to them. Their brother Henry, the Grand Master of the Teutonic Brotherhood, obtained a valuable privilege in which the Kaiser made to the soldier monks, so active in spreading the Catholic faith among heathen nations, a grant of all the lands in Courland, Lithuania, and Semigallia which they might be able to conquer, to be held of the Roman Empire alone. Henry was praised as a man who would never turn back in his enterprizes, as too many of the Brotherhood had done. Several Italian nobles were at the Diet of Verona, but the son of Salinguerra was the only one who obtained anything. Eccelin was evidently most uneasy during the Imperial visit; he quartered Frederick in the Abbey of St. Zeno, while he posted guards at the towers and gates, and reinforced them night and day by others from Vicenza, Padua, and the Alpine country, bringing the new comers into Verona by small parties, so as to avoid notice.*

The Emperor, knowing that the Council of Lyons had already begun to sit, marched Westwards early in July. After knighting several Lombards at Cremona, he went on to Turin, there to await the upshot of the Pope's intrigues. On the road, Don Fadrique, who had been at the Imperial Court for the last five years, made his escape and sought refuge with the

* Rolandini.

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Milanese.* Frederick outlawed thirty Apulians for negligence on guard, and sent the news of this desertion to the King of Castile, with many complaints of the ingratitude of the young Prince, who lived to take a leading part in Sicilian politics twenty years later. The Emperor was somewhat consoled for this loss by the loyal spirit manifested in Piedmont. The burghers of Alessandria, his old foes, offered him the keys of their city and castles. The neighbouring nobles, such as the Marquesses of Montferrat and Carretto, were equally ready to welcome him, although they had done homage to the Pope only a few months before.† Among these converts was the Count of Savoy, who was pushing his way by degrees towards Turin and Asti, and to whom Frederick afterwards promised the Castle of Rivoli. The nobles of the neighbourhood, throughout the whole of the war, changed sides with the greatest ease. They were now made happy by many charters granted them by the Emperor.

Innocent, safe at Lyons, was not in the least overawed by Frederick's long sojourn at Turin; the two enemies were separated by the Alpine chain. The Fathers of the Church, gathered from the various kingdoms of the world, were flocking into the old city of the Martyrs, the See of St. Irenæus. It was a dark and gloomy day for Christendom, as the Bishops must have been constantly reminded. None of their brethren arrived from Hungary, which had not yet recovered from the Tartar inroad; few came from Germany, harassed by civil wars. The Bishop of Beyrout was the only Prelate from Pales-

* Chronicon. † Barth. Scriba. Gal. Fiamma.

tine. The numbers present must have seemed small to any man who could remember the great Lateran Council. On the 26th of June Innocent held a preliminary Session in the Refectory of St. Just. It was opened by the Patriarch of Constantinople, who set forth the wrongs inflicted on his Chair by the Greek schismatics; only three out of thirty suffragans now remained true in their allegiance. This discourse was followed by a sermon on the merits of Edmund, the late Archbishop of Canterbury, whose canonization the Pope delayed for a short time longer. Thaddeus of Sessa, appearing at Lyons as the Emperor's proctor, now stated the terms which his Lord offered to the Church; all her enemies should be vanquished and her lands restored. 'How am I to bind this shifting Proteus?' asked Innocent. 'He is making false promises, as of old, in order to break up the Council and turn aside the axe that is being laid to the root of the tree. If I were to grant his prayers, who would be guarantee that he should be made to keep his agreement?' 'The Kings of France and England,' answered Thaddeus. 'We object to them,' retorted the Pope, 'for if Frederick were to annul the bargain, as we expect, we should be obliged to rebuke them; and then we should have three enemies, unequalled in power.' Thaddeus maintained a gloomy silence, and letters from Palestine were read; the Fathers were moved to tears by the tidings of the loss of Jerusalem and the rout of Gaza.*

Two days later, on the 28th of June, the second Session was held in the old Cathedral of St. John

* M. Paris. The other authorities for the Council are the Annals of Cesena and Labbœus. Compare the account of the Second Council of Lyons.

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the Baptist, the greater part of which was rebuilt immediately after the Council. The Pope celebrated mass, and then took his place on a high throne in the midst of the nave. On his right sat Baldwin, the Latin Emperor of Constantinople, who had left Frederick at Verona; on the left sate the Counts of Toulouse and Provence, the last heirs male of their respective lines. Below them were placed the notaries, auditors, chaplains, and subdeacons of the Papal Court, among whom was Master Marino of Naples, the Vice-chancellor of the Roman Church, afterwards made Treasurer of Salisbury. On the right, in the nave, were seated the Cardinal Bishops, three of whom were present. At this Council it was first decreed that the members of the College should wear red hats, in token of their willingness to shed their blood for the Church.* One of them was the virtuous Otho, the Bishop of Porto, who had done such good service in Germany, Denmark, and England. Near him was his bosom friend, William the Bishop of Sabina, who had been Legate in Courland and Prussia twenty years before, converting the heathen by wisdom rather than by force, learning their rude dialects and teaching them grammar.† The third Cardinal Bishop was Peter of Albano, Frederick's old prisoner, who had refused nine Bishopricks before taking the mitre of Rouen, and who afterwards broke his neck; a judgment, so it was said, for his persecution of the begging friars.‡ Apart from these, on the Pope's left, sate the Cardinal Priests; Peter of Bar, the fifth Prior of Clairvaux; William Talliante, the old envoy of the Castilian King; John of Tollet, the

* De Curbio. † Alb. Trium Fontium. ‡ Cantipratensis.

English Cistercian, who stood up manfully for his country against Innocent's exactions; * and Hugh of Saint Chers, the first Dominican ever raised to the Sacred College, who divided the Bible into chapters, composed a Concordance, and was a man of humour withal.† Next in order came the Cardinal Deacons; William Fiesco, the Pope's nephew, and Peter Capoccio, a Roman, skilful in war and government. But the greatest of all the Cardinals assembled at Lyons was one of the youngest among them. St. Francis, on his visit to Rome in 1222, had taken in his arms the child of his entertainer Matthew Rosso, one of the powerful Orsini, and had foretold that it would one day become Pope.‡ John Gaetano, so the boy was named, was made Cardinal in the year before the Council, and long headed the Guelf party in the Sacred College.§ Little could it be guessed that he would thirty years later offer to the world the strange spectacle of a Ghibelline Pope, a portent which the Lugdunensian Fathers would have pronounced incredible. The statesmanlike foresight and the ready patriotism of Nicholas III., qualities lacking at Rome in our days, stamp him as one of the greatest Pontiffs that ever lived; although he is doomed to hell for simony and partiality to his bear cubs, in the verse of Dante.‖

Fronting Innocent, sate the three Patriarchs of Constantinople, Antioch, and Aquileia; the claims of the last to sit on terms of equality with

* M. Paris.

† Cardella. Echard. See Hugh's sermon on taking leave of Lyons in M. Paris.

‡ Wadding. § Chronicon.

‖ Wadding gives the signatures of the Cardinals present at the Council.

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his brethren were not allowed, until the Pope interfered to prevent scandal. Behind them were ranged the hundred and forty Archbishops and Bishops present, together with the Abbots, Priors, Proctors of absent Prelates, envoys of Kings and Commonwealths, and ambassadors from the Emperor. The nave of the Cathedral was filled with their seats. Among the leading dignitaries was Boniface the Savoyard Archbishop of Canterbury, who built the chapel at Lambeth, and Albert the German Archbishop of Armagh. Grosseteste of Lincoln was there, having come to contest a suit with his Dean and Chapter, which he won. Besides these, the Bishops of Hereford, Worcester, Chichester, and Chester were at Lyons; the Abbot of Peterborough was so roughly handled at the Papal Court that he never recovered it.* To these English clergy we mainly owe our knowledge of what took place at the Council; since they treasured up its details for the ear of Matthew Paris. Scotland was represented by the Bishop of St. Andrews. There sate the haughty Archbishops of France, who had been so lately caged in the Emperor's dungeons; and the Prelates of Castile, Arragon, and Portugal, who made a more imposing show than any of the other Fathers. The Archbishop of Milan, Brother Leo the Minorite, was at the head of the Northern Italians, supported by his brother of Pisa; while Frederick's maternal Kingdom furnished the Archbishops of Bari and Palermo. There was moreover a strange guest from the far East, a Russian Archbishop, who could not speak either Latin, Greek, or Hebrew, but who made his

* M. Paris.

orthodoxy known through an interpreter, and took part in the rites of the Church, arrayed in a dress very different from that of the other Prelates. He had fearful tales to tell of the Tartars, whom he asserted to be the spawn of Gideon's Midianites.* With this exception, all the Fathers at Lyons were a united body, coming though they did from many realms; held together by the one tie of the Latin tongue and the one bond of allegiance to Rome. Among them sate the great French Abbots, and the delegates of the Dominicans and Franciscans.† Five notable men of lower rank watched the proceedings; John of Parma, the future General of the Minorites, one of the choicest spirits of the age; Nicholas of Corby, the Pope's chaplain; Adam de Marisco, the leading man at Oxford; Albert von Beham, the firebrand of Germany, who was at this time rewarded with the Deanery of Passau; and Theobald Visconti, who had been reluctantly prevailed upon by the Archbishop of Lyons to act as master of the Palace.‡ Little did the young Placentine dream that within thirty years he himself would preside over a Second Council of Lyons in that same Cathedral, convoked, not for the purpose of rending Christendom asunder, but in order to heal its wounds.

The laymen in the nave were of high degree. Venice furnished three crafty counsellors, while Genoa had sent two envoys, one of whom was a Fiesco, gladly welcomed by the Pope.§ The Podestas of other Italian cities were present. The

* Ann. de Burton.

† Bréholles gives the names of those present on the 13th of July.

‡ Vita Gregorii X. § Barth. Scriba.

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English embassy was headed by Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, who shortly afterwards became Earl Marshal of the Realm. There they sate, clergy and laity, the former in their gorgeous trappings, wearing the peculiarly low mitre of the century, summoned from all quarters to bear their part in one of the most solemn acts ever witnessed. Innocent IV., the leading spirit, learned in Bolognese lore, was worthy of his high post. He began the proceedings with the Veni Creator, the composition of his mighty namesake; he then proceeded with 'The Lord be with you,' to which all responded, 'And with thy spirit.' Giles, the Spanish Cardinal, chanted, 'Let us pray'; Octavian, the Florentine Cardinal, responded with, 'Lift up your hearts.' The Chaplain went through the Litanies, after which Innocent preached a sermon on the text; 'O all ye who pass by the way, behold and see if there be any sorrow like unto my sorrow.' He went on in so moving a strain as to draw tears and groans from his hearers. 'I have,' said he, 'five sorrows, which I may liken unto the five wounds of Christ. These are—the Tartar inroad; the schismatical spirit of the Greeks; the heresies which have crept in, especially in Lombardy; the seizure of Jerusalem by the Kharizmians; the active enmity of the Emperor to the Church, which he is specially bound to protect.' The sermon pourtrayed in dark colours Frederick's Saracen colony at Lucera, his harem peopled by Moslem beauties, and his alliance with the Sultan of Cairo and other Eastern Princes. He was guilty of perjury to the Church, although he had avowed himself her vassal for the Crown of Sicily, and had engaged to put her in possession of her

rightful domains in Central Italy. His crimes in this respect were made evident by many letters sealed with the Golden Bull, which Innocent brought forward in proof of these charges. Hereupon Thaddeus of Sessa arose, contradicted the charges, and appealed to various Papal Bulls in support of his statements. The letters of both Emperor and Pope were laid before the Council, and after a careful comparison of the documents the reverend Fathers decided that the offers of Frederick had been positive, while those of Innocent had been only conditional. By what process of logic they arrived at this strange conclusion, we are not told. Thaddeus would not quit the field, but excused his master's failings on the ground of the Pope's unkept promises. The learned Judge was thought to have been very happy in his retorts. Thus he replied, on Frederick's being charged with heresy; 'My Lords, this can never be proved until the Emperor is present, to be convicted out of his own mouth. But that he is no heretic, you may judge by this fact; he will not allow any usurer to dwell within his dominions.' This was a stroke levelled at the Papal Court, a hit which most of the Prelates could appreciate. 'My master only uses common prudence in cherishing the alliance of Egypt. He allows Saracens to dwell in his realm, in order to put down sedition, and because the blood of these infidel soldiers is not so precious as that of Christians. He is not seduced into sin by Saracen harlots—who can prove it? but he only amuses himself with the jests and feats of some women, whom he has now sent away, because they created suspicion.' Thaddeus then begged for a respite, that his powers might be enlarged by the Emperor,

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who would himself come before the Council. 'God forbid!' answered the Pope. 'I have had trouble enough already to escape his snares; if he comes, I go. I do not wish for blood, and I do not feel myself ready for martyrdom or imprisonment.' On the next day, however, a respite of a fortnight was granted to Thaddeus, owing to the entreaties of the French and English envoys.

An account of the proceedings at Lyons was sent off to the Emperor, who said in great perplexity; 'I see as clear as the light that the Pope is eager to revenge himself on me, because I caused his kinsmen, Genoese pirates, old enemies of the Empire, to be seized at sea and imprisoned, together with their abettors the Prelates. It is plain that he has called the Council for no other purpose; and it is not meet that the Empire should be bound by the decision of a hostile synod.' However true this might be, it was scarcely wise to trifle with the members of the Council, who were kept at Lyons, not in the best of moods, at great cost to their purses. It was against his honour, so Frederick declared, to appear before a body of Churchmen, too few to be dignified by the name of a General Council, containing deadly foes whom he had once imprisoned. The Emperor sent back the Bishop of Freisingen, the Grand Master of the Teutonic knights, Peter de Vinea, and Walter of Ocra.

They reached Lyons three days too late. Innocent had employed the delay granted in getting the signatures of the Prelates then at Lyons to copies of the charters, which had been bestowed on the Roman Church by Emperors and Kings. Frederick's refusal to appear had told against him. Many who had

before stood up for him now withdrew their countenance from him, and the English were much blamed for still favouring the brother-in-law of their King. Charges poured in from every quarter of the world against the Imperial culprit. The Bishop of Caleno denounced him as an Epicurean, a heretic, and an atheist, and exclaimed against the tyrant's plans for reducing the high clergy to a state of poverty worthy of the primitive Church. Thaddeus was ready with one of his retorts; 'You are unworthy of belief; you are the son of a traitor legally convicted and hung by the Emperor; and you tread in your father's footsteps.' The accuser dared not utter another word. But the Archbishop of Tarragona returned to the charge, and his brother of Compostella animated the Pope to severity by promising, in the name of the Spanish Prelates, to risk their lives and fortunes in the cause of the Church. The Lombard deputies were rancorous as ever against their great enemy.* The chief point of attack was the capture of the Prelates at sea in 1241. Many of those at Lyons were burning to revenge the loss of kinsmen drowned on that occasion; many of the Cardinals themselves had become unwilling inmates of Frederick's prisons in that memorable year. Thaddeus stood at bay gallantly, although now left almost alone. 'My Lord,' said he, 'is sorry for that affair; but he was not in the battle, and could not tell the innocent from the guilty.' 'Why did he not,' asked the Pope, 'release the innocent after their seizure?' 'It must be remembered,' urged Thaddeus, 'that Pope Gregory had

* Chronicon.

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summoned to Rome the armed enemies of the Empire, such as the Count of Provence, not to promote peace, but to stir up sedition. My Lord warned the Prelates beforehand by letter that they would be attacked; they despised him, and God righteously gave them into his hands. Yet he would have dismissed these Prelates in peace, had not the Bishop of Palestrina and others excommunicated him to his face.' Innocent answered; 'Your Lord might have known that such an assembly of good men would have released him from the ban, had he deserved it; the truth is plain that his conscience misgave him.' 'How could he expect justice at the hands of Pope Gregory?' asked Thaddeus. 'Why,' retorted the other, 'did he mix up the innocent with the guilty, even if one man had forfeited his favour? He is deserving of deposition.'

Hereupon the English envoys cried out, urging that Frederick's sins ought not to be visited on his children. But the Templars and Hospitallers, who were guarding Lyons day and night, having come armed for the purpose, begged that there might be no more delay. The fatal 17th of July was now come, and the last Session of the Council was held. Thaddeus, unable to gain a hearing, appealed to a future Pope and Council, on the ground of defective citation and of the personal enmity of Innocent, who was thereby unfitted for the office of Judge. The Englishmen then unfolded the long roll of grievances which had been inflicted upon their country by the Roman Court. Innocent answered not a word, but sat with downcast eyes; he talked of delay and deliberation in such hard questions. But he would hear of no delay in the

matter nearest his own heart, the deposition of Frederick. Changing his tactics, the Pope taunted Thaddeus with the offer; 'Let your Lord come.' To which the Judge answered; 'He will come. The day of his excommunication, if that be decreed, may be called that day of wrath, that day of tribulation, that day of calamity and misery, a day too great and too bitter.' The Patriarch of Aquileia, with true German steadfastness, made one more effort in behalf of his beloved Kaiser. 'Remember,' said Berthold, 'that the pillars which uphold the world are two; the one the Pope, the other the Emperor.' Innocent was nettled at the utterance of this most unseasonable Ghibelline saw. 'Either hold your tongue,' said he to the Patriarch, 'or I take away your ring.'*

All was over; the cause was at an end, for Rome was about to speak. Innocent published the sentence; he first gave his own account of the treaties attempted in the two previous years, charging Frederick with perjury, sacrilege, and heresy. He described the oath of allegiance sworn by the Emperor in 1212, the homage done to Pope Innocent the Third with uplifted hands for the realm of Sicily, and the promises made in Germany to resign the possessions of the Church to Pope Honorius. Frederick had scorned the ban of Pope Gregory, forgetting the rights granted by Christ to Peter; he was still holding the lands subject to the Papacy, after forcing the vassals who dwelt therein to abjure their oath of fealty to their rightful Lord. The Emperor had broken his engagements in 1230 by afterwards revenging himself upon the revolted

* Chronicon.

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nobles and by vexing the Sicilian Church; eleven archbishopricks, besides a great many bishopricks and abbeys, were at that moment without their pastors. Holy ornaments had been carried off; clerks had been called before secular tribunals and hanged. After rehearsing the naval disaster of 1241, the Pope went on; 'Frederick keeps up constant intercourse with Saracens; he follows their customs; he employs them as his attendants; he castrates men, whom he then places as guards over his wives, women of kingly birth; worst of all, he has given up the Temple of the Lord to Mohammed, and has lately received an embassy from the Sultan of Cairo, the author of the ruin of Palestine. Frederick caused the murder of the late Duke of Bavaria by assassins; he has given his daughter to the schismatic Vataces; he bestows no alms, and founds no Churches or Hospitals; he banishes or enslaves his clergy; he has ceased for the last nine years to pay his tribute as King of Sicily to the Church. We therefore, after careful deliberation with the Holy Council, by virtue of the power bequeathed by Christ to us in the person of St. Peter, hereby declare the above-named Prince, who has proved himself unworthy of the Crown, to be bound by his sins and cast off by the Lord, and we hereby strip him of all his honours, and we release his subjects from their oath of allegiance to him as Emperor or King; and we decree excommunication against any who shall hereafter abet or counsel him. The Electors to the Empire are free to choose a successor in his room; as to the Kingdom of Sicily, we will make such provision for it as may seem expedient to us.'

This sentence, published in open Council, struck

terror into the hearts of all; Thaddeus of Sessa, Walter of Ocra, and the other Imperial agents wept, while beating their breasts. The Pope and all the Prelates took lighted tapers, inverted them, and quenched them while thundering out curses against Frederick. Thaddeus uttered his last appeal, which was long remembered in every part of Christendom: 'From this time forth heretics will sing, the Kharizmians will rule supreme, and the Tartars will arise in their might and prevail.' Innocent answered; 'I have done my duty; now let God do His will in these matters.' He struck up the Te Deum, in which all joined.

Such was the result of the Council of Lyons, a sentence pronounced by the calmest of historical judges to be 'the most pompous act of usurpation in all the records of the Church of Rome; the tacit approbation of a General Council seemed to incorporate the pretended right of deposing Kings with the established faith of Christendom.' No precedent had quite equalled this stretch of Papal authority. 'Who is there,' cries Nicholas of Corby, 'that is not dull of mind, but knows that the power of the Empire is subject to the Popes?' The learned Chaplain proves his point by citing the examples of Arcadius, Justin, Charles the brother of Pepin, Michael the Emperor of the East, and the contemporary Lothaire of the West; he also glances at the ban pronounced against Frederick's own forefathers, and at the noble act of the good St. Ambrose. The sentence given in the present instance was approved by all the Prelates who were at Lyons, as they bore witness by their seals and signatures. The victory won by the Council over the sluggish King of Portugal sinks into

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nothing in comparison with its invasion of the Imperial rights. The Empire had held its most brilliant pageant at Mayence in 1235, under the auspices of Frederick. The Church enjoyed its greatest triumph, a triumph far more substantial than that of its rival, at Lyons in 1245, under the guidance of Innocent. Neither the one power nor the other ever climbed so high after this age; henceforth a slow decay is to be remarked in the authority of the Papacy, while the old system of the Empire came rapidly to an end.

The dauntless bearing of Thaddeus before the infallible Council might well have suggested serious misgivings to Innocent, could that Pope have read the future. The clergy would soon have to make way for a new class of men; the Sugers and Langtons would soon cease to enjoy a monopoly of statecraft. A very few years after this it was remarked that in Italy everything was given up to the civil law, an abuse which was destroying the Church of God and all the Kingdoms of the earth. The Jurists got nearly all gifts and benefactions; nothing was left for theology and philosophy; ignorant boys were thrust into the chairs to expound religion.* The Emperor's influence is very clearly traceable here; he did his best to bring the laity up to the level of the clergy; he chose most of his ambassadors and statesmen from the former class; and thus, as we see, he effectedan improvement in Italy, which was not thoroughly carried out in our own land until three hundred years later. In 1245, the civil law was pitted against the canon law, the University of Naples against the Univer-

* Roger Bacon, Compendium Studii.

sity of Bologna. In that year, to say the truth, the gown had to yield to the surplice; but even then a race of lawyers was rising into notice at Paris, which would speedily trample in the dust those proud claims of the Papacy put forward at the First Council of Lyons. Innocent was now leaning on St. Louis for help; but the grandson of St. Louis would prove a shrewder foe to Rome than ever Frederick had been.

The Emperor heard the news of his deposition, while still at Turin. He scowled on his courtiers, and thundered out, 'Where are my treasure coffers?' On these being brought and unlocked, he cried, 'See if my Crowns are lost now!' Placing one of them on his head, he stood up, while his eyes flashed and his voice trembled with rage; 'I have not yet lost my Crown,' said he, 'and it shall cost the Pope and the Council a bloody struggle before they rob me of it. Does he, in his vulgar pride, think that he shall hurl me from the Imperial dignity, me, who am the chief Prince of the world, yea, who am without an equal. But it is all the better for me; I was bound before to respect him in some things, but now I am set free from all ties of love or peace.' He lost no time in appealing from the decision of the Council to the world. England seemed ready to second him; her embassy had after all gained no redress from the Pope, and had quitted Lyons with threats and oaths; even King Henry had been seized with a short fit of public spirit.* To England therefore Frederick sent a trusty knight with a letter of exculpation. 'We grant the Pope's spiritual power,' said he, 'but we nowhere read that he may transfer Empires at his

* M. Paris.

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will, or rob Kings of their realms. Is he set above all law and order? He has disregarded every legal form in his late proceedings against us, and has taken hearsay to be fact. A very few unjust witnesses stood forward against us, such as the Bishop of Caleno; the Spanish Prelates came from afar, and were our enemies, owing to the poisonous subornation practised upon them. The citation which we received was quite informal, and contumacy cannot be proved against us. The Pope would not wait for our envoys who were coming, but he hurried on to the sentence, a ridiculous one, since by it the Roman Emperor, who is above all law and amenable to God alone, is found guilty of treason. We are ready to reverence the Pope's spiritual power; we believe all the articles of the Catholic faith. Not one of our German Princes, who have the right of electing and deposing us, was at hand confirm the sentence. Our cause is that of all Kings; we ask your alliance, and we beg you to give no heed to the Papal Legates. We shall meet these encroachments with the help of the King of Kings, since we see Christianity trodden under foot in our days.'

Another letter of Frederick's dealt more unsparingly with the corruptions of the clergy. 'These men, fattened on the charities of our fathers, are now oppressing us. What have not Kings to fear from a Prince of priests, who has attempted to depose us, the Lord of the Empire and of many other noble realms! Why do you obey these pretenders to holiness, who hope that the whole Jordan will flow into their mouths? Remember the words of our Lord; "Turn from the leaven of the Scribes and Pharisees, which is hypocrisy." Christians are beg-

ging among you, that Paterines may be fed among us. The more you give these priests, the more they grasp. You know not the uses to which they put your wealth; certain plots have been contrived by the Court of Rome against all Kingdoms and the isles of the Ocean. You may believe what our messengers tell you, as though St. Peter himself had sworn to it. Next spring we hope to crush our foes; we have God on our side, so we fear not the Pope. We have always wished to bring the high clergy back to their primitive state of lowliness. Of old, they used to see angels, to perform miracles, to raise the dead, to overcome Kings by holiness, not by arms. But all religion is now being choked by the riches of the clergy; it is a work of charity to ease them of the wealth which is burdening them to their own damnation.'*

This letter, recommending strong measures for which the world was not as yet ripe, scared the public feeling of Christendom. Among others, Matthew Paris, who clearly had no wish to see the possessions of St. Alban's Abbey pass into lay hands, is severe upon Frederick's poisonous designs. Innocent took advantage of this state of popular opinion to answer the Emperor's circular. 'The Church,' wrote the Pope, 'is endowed with full powers by her husband, Jesus Christ, from whom proceeds all power in heaven and earth. From Him have His sons empire over all the world, to pull down and to build up. What mad rashness it is to raise the heel against the Mistress of all! You see by Frederick's letters the spirit of the Son of

* Almost the very words of the Emperor Julian.

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perdition, the forerunner of Antichrist, who scorns the breast that suckled him, who imitates the hardness of Pharaoh, whose crimes are not to be borne in any professor of the Christian name, much less in an Emperor. He is striving to stir you up against us, as if it were not the duty of the Church to judge of temporal matters in a spiritual way. He suggests that the clergy should be reduced to beggary as in primitive times; this indeed he has not blushed to do in his own Kingdom. In assailing us he has set his face against Heaven, for our Lord plainly declares that He suffers in the person of St. Peter and the succeeding ministers of the Church. Consider, Christian brethren, how the Prelates will be impoverished. He who curses his father or mother ought to die; you should therefore take up arms against the degenerate wretch, who is unworthy of the name even of stepson. But the Church feels for the Christians oppressed by this tyrant, who is casting truth and justice out of the world. We exhort you in the name of the Redeemer to lift up your hands and hearts against the aforesaid enemy of God and man, this roaring lion, that the Lord may restore peace to His spouse and may receive you into His heavenly mansions.'

This letter was meant for the clergy; a second one was addressed to the Kings of Christendom. Innocent evidently felt that his enemy had made some telling hits in the late Circular; but the Holy See was ready to meet the arguments of the son of Belial. We cannot help admiring the consummate art with which the Pope separates the Imperial cause from that of other Sovereigns, and advances arguments apparently Scriptural, which that age was unable to unmask, in support of his overweening claims.

Never did the Roman Church, under either Hildebrand or Boniface, take a more lofty tone of command than now.

'A sick man, when under the knife or the red-hot iron, storms at his physician, and cries out that he is being murdered. Just so a criminal reviles his judge, and complains of injustice; yet both the physician and the judge are presumed to have acted with pious zeal. Frederick is crying out against the judgment of the Universal Church; but she has thought it better to lop off one limb, than that her whole body should be cast into hell. He has after his custom scattered libels through the world, and has presented the Princes of earth with the golden cups of Babylon, in which he has mixed wormwood; he tries to blacken our late process against himself, which was approved of by the Holy Council; and he makes use of swelling words to stir up sedition in the Christian people. Far be it from us to vie with him in foul abuse. Let us rather, with our Lord Jesus Christ, bear the reproaches of accursed men. Still, in order that the battering-ram of fraud may not break into the rampart of the Lord's house, we come forward to defend the truth. He says that we had no power to condemn him; but whoever declares himself exempt from the power of God's Vicar, is diminishing the authority received from God by the blessed Peter and his successors. We represent on earth the King of Kings, and we have power to bind or loose any one or any thing. St. Paul says; "Know ye not that we shall judge angels?" Even in the old Jewish times we find God saying to the priest; "See, I have set thee over the nations, and the Kingdoms, to root

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out and to plant," over kingdoms as well as over nations. This power was often wielded in the annals of the Old Testament. The Roman Pontiff then may judge any Christian of any rank, especially for sin. Ignorant are those who think that the Apostolic See first had its secular power from Constantine. For Christ, who is both true King and true Priest after the order of Melchizedek, set up in the person of the blessed Peter a government extending over things temporal as well as over things spiritual. Constantine humbly gave up to the Church an unlawful tyranny, and received back from Christ's Vicar a power divinely ordained for the punishment of the bad and the praise of the good. Peter was not bidden to throw away his sword, but to put it up into its sheath; by these words we see that it was to him that the sword belonged, and he it was who had the right of using it. The power of the sword, lodged in the Church, is bestowed upon the Emperor. This is typified in his Coronation rite; the Pope delivers to Cæsar a sheathed sword, which the Prince draws and brandishes, in token that he has received the power of using it. Let not other Kings take alarm; our authority over them is not the same as it is over the Prince of the Romans, who takes an oath to the Roman Pontiff. Other Kings have an hereditary right to their crowns, but the Roman Emperor is chosen King by the free vote of the Germans, and is afterwards promoted to the Empire by us. It was the Apostolic See that transferred the Empire from the Greeks to the Germans. We have also judicial power with respect to the Crown of Sicily, which is our own fief.

'Frederick says that he had not a proper citation

to the Council; the citation was publicly promulgated and brought to his knowledge; there was no safe way of serving it upon him. He was not called upon to defend himself, but to make compensation for his manifest crimes; they were so notorious that a judicial debate upon them seems superfluous. Must we speak of that sacrilegious slaughter and shameful captivity, which is branded for ever upon the brow of the Church, that outrage undergone by the Cardinals and Prelates? Are not his matrimonial ties with the enemies of our faith, his constant breaches of his oath, known to all the world? He thinks it absurd that he, the Emperor, should be found guilty of treason; his treason is committed against Divine Majesty. He has sinned, not only against the Head, but against many noble members of the Church, which is the body of Christ. But to turn his own metaphor against himself, he is like a bird, which entangles itself in the net the more it struggles; he is wiping his face with dirty hands and making the stain worse. Then beware, ye faithful, of this snake who calls us Scribes and Pharisees. He scoffs at the Catholic Church for not working miracles now, as of old, and also for being rich and powerful. Yet God does not cast away the mighty; though indeed we prefer poverty, we do not object to the right use of riches. Frederick is inviting you to share the spoils of the Church; see from this how false was his late desire for reconciliation. He has learnt these doctrines from the foxes that lurk in their dens, ceasing not privily to lay waste the vineyard of the Lord of Sabaoth. There is no room for doubt as to the justice of Frederick's sentence. We beg you not to listen to his words, but to stand by the Church; it

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is your interest to help her, since she is the barrier which prevents him from mastering the other Kingdoms.' *

St. Peter, as this letter reminds us, was ordered to sheathe his sword; Innocent was far from following the example of his predecessor. On the contrary, the scabbard was thrown away after the Council of Lyons; Innocent would henceforth hear of no truce, however much Frederick might sue for it; the Pope would have a duel to the death. The next five years are therefore one unceasing struggle; streams of blood are shed in every part of Frederick's dominions, whether we turn to Germany, to Italy, or to Palestine. The heavens, as usual in this age, had foreboded the worst. Rolandini, who loved astrology, writes thus:—'In the very day and hour that Frederick was deposed, a fiery star flew across the sky from the East to the West, which I saw, and many others beheld and wondered at it in fear.'

* This last sentence is worthy of all attention.

CHAPTER XVII.

A.D. 1245—A.D. 1250.

'Non fu nostra 'ntenzion, ch' a destra mano
De' nostri successor parte sedesse,
Parte dall' altra del popol Cristiano:
Nè che le chiavi, che mi fur concesse,
Divenisser segnacolo in vessillo,
Che contra i battezzati combattesse.'

DANTE, *Paradiso XXVII.*

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FREDERICK soon found that his position after the sentence of Lyons was not so firm as before. The Empire seemed to be crumbling away from under him, shaken to its centre by the late thunderclap. Those very German Prelates who had so lately met him at Verona were going over to the enemy. The Bishop of Freisingen, his envoy to the Council, profited by the opportunity to gain absolution from Innocent for past misdeeds, promising at the same time to restore all that was due to Albert von Beham. The Bishop of Bamberg, who had been so constant a guest at the Apulian Court, forsook the side of Frederick before the year was out. A still more serious revolt was that of Siffrid the Bishop of Ratisbon, who had been Chancellor of the Empire for the last fifteen years.* Even the Archbishop of Salzburg and the Bishops of Passau and Worms were beginning to waver. Innocent

* Alb. von Beham.

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had sent an Italian Legate, Philip the Bishop of Ferrara, to carry out the late sentence and stir up the Germans against their Kaiser. The King of Hungary asked absolution from the oath of homage he had taken to Frederick, since the promised help against the Tartars had never been given; this request was instantly granted by the Pope. King Conrad, who had accompanied his father from Verona to Turin, was now sent back to Germany by way of Savoy, well supplied with money and followed by a goodly array of knights.* The lad was called upon to play the chief part in a desperate struggle of five years, in which the odds were against him. But his character was now formed, and we hear of no more complaints against his morals. Boy as he was, he had shot up to maturity with true Hohenstaufen growth; he played the losing game to the North of the Alps with a dogged stubbornness worthy of Orange or Coligny.

Conrad's marriage was a matter of some importance. A connexion with a Bavarian Princess had long ago been planned for him, but Frederick suddenly caught at a new idea. Raymond, the Count of Provence, died soon after the close of the Council at which he had been present, leaving his dominions to his youngest daughter Beatrice. The Emperor grasped at the tempting prize; he sent into Provence Ansaldo di Mari, who had just returned from Spain after escorting his master's ambassador to the Miramamolin; but the Admiral was unable to secure

* Chronicon. The last thing done by Conrad, before leaving his father, was to promise the post of forester at Haguenau to an old retainer of the family.

Beatrice for Conrad.* St. Louis at once took possession of Provence and gave its heiress to his brother Charles of Anjou; a match fraught with ruin to Frederick's line twenty years later.† The King of France was now intent on the Crusade, which had been preached throughout his realm by the Cardinal Bishop of Tusculum.‡ The Emperor, well knowing the value of such an ally as the French Sovereign, sent Peter de Vinea and Walter of Ocra to Paris with an earnest appeal, only two months after the astounding sentence of Lyons. 'Since the Bishops of Rome are usurping the power of creating and deposing Emperors and Kings, of absolving vassals from oaths, of making the Holy See umpire in disputes, of taking cognizance of temporal causes; we are sending our envoys into France that King Louis may assemble the lay peers of his realm and hear our rights. At any rate we beg him to be neutral in the present struggle. We are ready, from reverence to God and from our special love to France, to make the King umpire between us and the Pope; we are ready to accompany the King on his Crusade and to bring with us our son Conrad the heir to the Crown of Jerusalem. If we are prevented by the present discord from going ourselves, we tender to the King our help as regards ships and provisions.' Besides making these brilliant offers, Frederick laid before Louis the Imperial answer to one of the Papal accusations, about the withholding of the tribute due to the Holy See for Sicily. This money was ready to be paid, being sealed up in one of the Churches.

* Barth. Scriba, Ann. Genuenses. † M. Paris.
‡ Raynaldus.

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Innocent on the other hand worked with great success upon the minds of the Cistercian Order, a most powerful section of the French clergy. 'Do not believe,' thus he wrote to their Abbots assembled in Chapter, 'that the late sentence against Frederick was pronounced in headlong haste. We do not remember that any cause was ever so carefully weighed in the minds of skilful and holy men; indeed, in our secret councils, some of our brethren feigned to be his advocates while others accused him, so that the whole truth might be sifted, as in the schools. We had no choice but to pronounce the sentence; and in this cause we and all our brethren are ready to die.'

Towards the end of the year, Louis and his mother Blanche met Pope Innocent at the Abbey of Cluny. It was clear that if the Church and Empire were not reconciled, the proposed Crusade would prove a hazardous experiment. But in the eyes of Rome, the Emperor's downfall was far more important than the success of any Crusade. He had appointed St. Louis to act as mediator; in the following year the King had a second interview with Innocent at Cluny, and laid the Imperial offers before the Pope. Frederick engaged to spend the rest of his life in the Holy Land, on condition of being absolved and of being replaced in the Empire by Conrad. 'My Lord,' Innocent meekly addressed Louis, 'this cause is not only mine, but that of all Christendom. Consider how long the Council bore with this man, and how treacherously he sought to slip out from his promises.' The King replied, 'Is it not written in the Gospel that we must forgive until seventy times seven? What hope is there of deliver-

ing the Holy Land, without the help of this mighty ally? He makes great promises; I earnestly beseech you, on behalf of thousands of pilgrims, to accept of such humiliation on the part of so powerful a Prince. Remember that you are the Vicar of Christ, who humbled Himself even unto the death on the Cross.' But Innocent stood firm, and Louis left him in anger.* The King was for referring every thing to the standard of the New Testament; the Pope understood the interests of the Mediæval Church far too well to do this. Frederick had more personal acquaintance with the dealings of this Church than any other Sovereign of the time; his whole life had been fretted by its intrigues. 'Our guardian Innocent III.,' so he wrote, 'raised our hereditary enemy Otho to the Empire, which was ours by previous election; the same Pope, under pretence of defending us, sent into the Kingdom Walter de Brienne, who was thirsting for our blood, being the son-in-law of Tancred the usurper. Pope Gregory IX. excommunicated us and invaded our realm; he refused to restore Citta di Castello to us, and made a peace with the Romans without consulting us, his ally. He also, when we had deposed our son Henry, privily sent a messenger to the Princes and forbade them to choose any one of our race for their King, as the same Princes informed us afterwards. He despatched the Bishop of Palestrina, our enemy, into Lombardy, who tried to stir up Modena and Piacenza against us. We should have tamed the Lombards after our great victory, had they not fled to the Pope.' These charges against Rome and offers

* M. Paris.

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to France were repeatedly made during the winter of 1245 and the spring of the next year.

We are now enabled to view Frederick as a diplomatist. During his sojourn in the North, he found means to detach certain allies of the Pope's from the side they had espoused. Zeno, Morosini, and John of Canale, the three envoys sent by Venice to the Council, had been seized on their return by the Count of Savoy, but they were released at the Emperor's request. They soon appeared before him and greeted him on the part of the Doge; Frederick returned their salute. He had three years before refused to aid Zara in its rebellion against Venice; so he had some claim to their gratitude. Zeno began, 'Sire, we were at the Council by command of the Doge, and very sorry are we for its decision, since we see the destruction of Christendom will be the result. But our Lord the Doge wishes to be at peace with you, and is willing to receive your subjects at Venice.' The Emperor answered; 'Gentlemen, you know how I have been treated by my Lord the Apostle; and you are aware that I love Venice much. I wonder why you have been warring against me; since I am sure that you and my subjects used to derive much profit from your intercourse. Yet, even after being assailed by you, I have welcomed your merchants to my Kingdom. We have been like two champions, each eager to win the battle, and so we have sorely hurt each other. I have given you no reason for offence, yet you made the cause of the Lombards your cause. I am ready to hear you, and to treat with you now.' Morosini answered; 'Sire, we have bought our experience dearly; a wise man in our country says,

that the past is a great example for the future.' John of Canale, while confirming the statements of his brethren, found that Zeno was pressing his hand; it was a hint not to seem too anxious for the expected boons. The Emperor saw the gesture, laughed, and said; 'I knew all this well.' Zeno spoke once more; 'Sire, you remember, that when you were a boy, those who should have been loyal to you seized on your cities and castles; yet Venice did you no harm, although she was well able. She even refused to attack you, when the Emperor Otho proposed to give her a part of your realm. Further, when the war began between you and the Church, the Pope offered us the dignity of a Kingdom, if we would join the Lombards against you; yet we refused. Sire, I pray you, for God's sake, to forget our offences; let there be peace between you and us.' 'So be it, in God's name,' answered the Emperor. The Venetians, two of whom afterwards became Doges, returned home, having first held a conference with Peter de Vinea. Henceforth their countrymen took no part in the great war, except that they defended Treviso against the yearly onslaughts of Eccelin and the Saracens; this was all that Monsignor San Marco would do for the Apostle.*

Frederick left Turin in September for Cremona and Parma. On the way he halted at the Abbey of Fontana Viva, and found in its library certain papers disclosing a plot against his own life and that of Enzio. The Parmesan conspirators fled at his approach and sought shelter in Piacenza.† One of them was the Pope's brother-in-law, Bernard Orlando

* Martin da Canale.

† Chronicon.

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Rosso, who had already had a strong hint of the doom in store for him. His horse had stumbled, while he was riding with the Emperor; 'Lord Bernard,' remarked his companion, 'you have a bad steed; but I hope and promise within a few days to give you a better one, which shall not stumble.' The other understood the gibbet to be the gift intended, and so made his escape from Court with all convenient speed.* After getting rid of the traitors, Frederick bestowed favours upon the rest of the Parmesans. He refers in his charters, given at this time, to the constant devotion of the city, which had always at his first word sent her cavalry and infantry against his enemies; he therefore granted the Castle of Grondola to Theobald Francesco, the Podesta of Parma, as the representative of the state. The boundaries of the new possession were accurately ascertained from the mouths of the old men of Grondola, who gave evidence before two Imperial commissioners. Frederick held a Parliament at Parma, where it was agreed that one-third of the revenues of all the Churches should be exacted. New laws were also passed, which every city was to insert in her statute-book; all were to take a fresh oath to the Emperor and his son Conrad. The times were dangerous, and the Pope had just blighted all hopes of peace. Frederick therefore, as he says in his circular, would no longer be the anvil, but would resume the part of hammer; he would draw the sword sharpened of late on the Papal whetstone. Enzio was ordered to lay a moderate assessment upon the shoulders of those who could bear it. The like instructions were

* Salimbene.

sent to Tuscany and to the Kingdom, with more complaints against the Vicar of Peter, who had brought a sword upon the earth.

In the beginning of October, the Milanese had marched across the Adda to the help of Brescia. Frederick now made his last attempt upon the Lombard capital. Six years before he had attacked it from the East, but now he made Pavia the base of his operations. Thence he marched with his army, collected from many lands, to Abbiate Grasso on the Ticinello.* For three weeks he lay encamped in this village, while the Milanese were facing him. On the first of November he moved up to Buffalora, wishing to cross the river there. But Montelongo made a parallel movement, and stood ready to dispute the passage, encamping close to the field of Magenta. Frederick in vain tried the river in a third place.† Leo, the Archbishop of Milan, set an example of undaunted bravery to his flock; he went before them with a banner, crossed the river by a bridge, and stood alone in front of the enemy, while none of his friends dared to follow him.‡ Frederick boasted in his letters that he had the Milanese between the hammer and anvil; since, while he was attacking them from the West, Enzio was moving up from the East. The King of Sardinia crossed the Adda after surprising the guards, and four days later he took a Castle, in which he captured 1300 of the enemy's infantry and 40 knights. He rushed in with a very few soldiers, and was himself made prisoner. The captain of the Genoese cross-bowmen, who had been sent to the aid of Milan,

* Chronicon. † Ann. Mediolan. ‡ Salimbene.

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came to the Church where Enzio was confined, and begged him to let all in the building escape. The Ghibellines were now coming in great numbers to search for their missing chief; the generous King shouted to them to go back; and thus he gave two-and-twenty Guelfs, who were in the Church, time to run off.

This was the most brilliant feat in the whole campaign; Frederick retreated to Pavia in the middle of November, and joined his son at Lodi. He was much displeased with the Genoese, who had sent 500 crossbowmen to reinforce Milan. Thirty-eight of these had been taken; the Emperor put out the right eye and cut off the right hand of every one of them; a barbarous usage of war.* In the next month, a storm of unparalleled fury destroyed several ships of Genoa; it was said that Frederick would seize the opportunity to let loose the Pisans upon the crippled city; she sent envoys to the Pope and to the King of France for help. But the force of events made the Emperor desist from his intended expedition.†

His success in the Milanese campaign had not corresponded to his vast preparations and expenses. He had sworn by his Crown, it was said, never to slacken his efforts, until he had destroyed Milan as his grandfather had done; but this proved a vain boast.‡ A watchful enemy moreover was able to keep the Imperial influence in check in more parts of Italy than one. Thus Treviso had yielded to Frederick in the summer; but Innocent forthwith absolved the citizens from all their engagements to

* Chronicon. † Barth. Scriba. ‡ Ann. Mediol.

the foe. A party in Pisa were anxious to come to terms with the Church; the Pope wrote to the Archbishop, professing much joy over sinners that repented, and authorizing a relaxation of the Interdict, provided that due atonement for past misdeeds was made. The Emperor had transferred a fair from rebellious Vercelli to loyal Turin; Innocent at once re-established the old order of things.* A conspiracy was detected at Reggio; Enzio tried the culprits, and sentenced some to death, others to perpetual imprisonment. By an Imperial letter it appears that a hundred heads fell upon this occasion. The spell of Lyons was beginning to work in Italy as well as in Germany. About this time the Archbishop of Ravenna, who had been imprisoned in Apulia for the last five years, contrived to escape. He had been forced to give bail in the sum of 2000 marks of silver; but this he chose to forfeit, after taking the advice of certain religious men. Theodoric accordingly with great difficulty fled to Bologna, whence, finding all the property of his See in the hands of the enemy, he wrote to Innocent for a maintenance.

In the mean time Frederick, after visiting Cremona and Parma, went into Tuscany and spent the winter at Grosseto, which belonged to Count Aldobrandino. The Emperor had chosen this spot for his residence, since it was midway between the Kingdom and Lombardy, and he disliked the cold of the latter province. Having already requested the Count to have quarters ready for men and horses, he spent the first months of 1246 in hunting. He now made his

* Raynaldus.

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son Frederick of Antioch Vicar-General in Tuscany and the Maritima, declaring that Providence had established the Empire for the interest of peace and justice, and had foreshadowed its superiority to other realms by the text enjoining the payment of tribute unto Cæsar. Tuscany was a peculiarly noble province and precious part of the Roman Empire; it had need of protection both for its own children and for strangers passing through it; Frederick's presence was necessary elsewhere; he therefore appointed his son with the greatest powers that could be delegated. But it was clear that the old sway of the Empire, both in Tuscany and in other provinces, was on the wane. Thus about this time Obizzo Malaspina came before the Court, and made a gift to Frederick of an old lean jade ridden by a wretched clown. Upon this Cæsar remarked; 'As that horse was once good and is now worthless; so the Emperor has come to nought and is not recognized by other kings.' *

But a greater danger was threatening the Emperor than any that had yet befallen him. His own nobles, the knights of the Kingdom, the men upon whom he had heaped so many favours, were conspiring against him.† Theobald Francesco, of late the Podesta of Parma; Pandulf of Fasanella, who had been Vicar in Tuscany for many years before the new appointment of young Frederick; James of Morra, the son of the Emperor's faithful minister; Andrew of Cicala, who held the highest post in Apulia; William of Sanseverino and his sons; all these

* Ann. Mediol.

† See Frederick's letters for the conspiracy.

had woven a dark plot against their master's life. The plot had threads extending to Parma, and probably thence to Lyons. How it was unravelled is not known; Guido Bonatti, the great astrologer, declares that he, although living at Forli, knew from the combination of the planets that a conspiracy was being formed at Grosseto, and accordingly warned the Emperor; not one of Frederick's own astrologers had had the least idea of any threatening danger. Be this as it may, some of the plotters revealed the truth to the Count of Caserta; the intended victim at first refused to believe it; but all doubt was at an end when Pandulf of Fasanella and James of Morra fled from the Court with some of their accomplices and took refuge in Rome. The others, who were awaiting in the Kingdom the expected news of the Emperor's murder, were quite thunderstruck at the discovery. The chiefs lost their presence of mind; they might have seized any Castles in the Kingdom that they chose, since Andrew of Cicala, as Captain-General, had the power of naming and deposing the Royal Castellans. As it was, they fled into Scala and Capaccio, fortresses by no means strong. They spread at the same time a report of Frederick's death, which caused a rising among the commons. But the Emperor speedily came from the North and undeceived his lieges, who returned to their duty. Scala, the strongest of the two Castles, built on a crag near Amalfi, was very soon taken; Thomas of Sanseverino and his son were there found and put to death. They confessed in their last moments that Pope Innocent was an accomplice in the murderous plot; their evidence was confirmed by the public boastings of the renegade Bishop of Bamberg, who

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fell into the hands of the Hohenstaufen party about this time. Further proof seemed to be furnished by the conduct of the Franciscan friars, who had preached a crusade in the Kingdom against Rome's enemy. Nor were the Dominicans without blame. Later in the year Frederick addressed a letter to their Chapter, praising the Order as the staff of the aged Church and the pillar of the Christian faith. He had thought that all its members had put their hands to the plough; but some of them, unmindful of their profession, were mixing themselves up in the quarrels of Kings, thus becoming enthralled by the world. It was not from resentment, as God knew, but from a regard for the Order that Frederick spoke. The friars were assailing him and the Holy Empire, advising breaches of oaths, and running about the world under the cloak of religion to deceive simple folk. He would rather that the brethren should be intercessors for him with Heaven than that they should persecute him.

While vengeance was overtaking the traitors in Apulia, there was a great stir in the provinces just beyond the border of the Kingdom. Camerino indeed seemed to abandon the side of the Church for a short time. But the Bishop of Arezzo, the Papal commander in the March, overthrew Robert of Castiglione near Ancona, and recovered Fano.* He had received succour from Perugia and Assisi; these two cities were the mainstay of the Papacy in Central Italy; Regnier of Viterbo directed their efforts. Towards the end of March an expedition was sent forth from Perugia, the traitorous James of

* Amiani.

Morra having taken up his quarters there. The aged Cardinal had in vain counselled prudence; they had not now, as he said, to deal with Foligno or Spello alone, but the whole world was leagued against Perugia; Cæsar's camp swarmed with Saracens and Parthians. Visions had been seen in the past night of an eagle pecking at the pillars of St. Peter. The Perugians shouted in reply; 'Cæsar is deposed, and his followers are all blasphemers; one of us will chase a hundred of them; we have ever been Catholics, and the Apostolic blessing rests upon us.' They had their wish and marched forth under the standard of the Griffin, the terror of Todi and Gubbio. The Ghibelline army, led by Marino of Eboli the Emperor's Vicar in Spoleto, was posted at Spello; their general feigned to avoid the proffered battle. A spy came to the Perugians with the news that the enemy's long files of cavalry were retreating from Spello. The Guelfs began to threaten their chiefs, if action were any longer delayed. Onward they marched with their horse and foot mixed up together, while the men of Spello standing on the walls had the pleasure of seeing the Griffin fall into the trap. The German horse made a circuit and charged the Perugians in the rear. The field was very stubbornly contested; missiles fell like hail, and armour was broken to pieces. But the upshot was, that the Pope's champions were beaten, and no fewer than five thousand of them were imprisoned. They comforted themselves by vowing revenge, while their enemies of Foligno were scoffing at them. The Emperor offered to release his prisoners if Perugia would make a treaty with him. 'We would not make it,' answered the burghers, 'even if all our

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wives and children were in Frederick's dungeons. We will live and die for the Church.' Cæsar, angry at the reply, sent the captives into Apulia. The Perugians, in spite of this blow, were soon besieging Spello, the walls of which they levelled with the ground; they then went on to ravage the lands of Foligno with fire and sword. The Griffin and the Eagle were once more struggling for the dominion of fair Umbria.*

The Emperor could boast of triumphs of his own. After visiting Salerno, he marched on to Capaccio, a fortress on a high hill looking towards the sea, and commanding a view of the plain in which stand the ruined temples of Pæstum. On the 18th of April, the town below the Castle was taken by the loyal subjects of the Kingdom, who were burning to avenge their Lord. He sent the good news to Enzio in Lombardy with orders to make it known. 'The traitors cannot escape our vengeance,' Frederick writes, 'unless they stab themselves or plunge into the sea; their cisterns are ruined, and their ramparts are being battered by our engines.' Innocent strove hard to effect a diversion; he wrote to the Sicilians urging them to rise against Nero; he reminded them of the taxes under which they were groaning, and declared that they were no longer bound by their oath to Frederick. The Kingdom was renowned for its chivalry and fruitfulness; let it add freedom to these blessings. He addressed the conspirators, who had

* See the Eulistæa, a Latin poem on Perugia written by a Veronese, a fugitive from Eccelin's tyranny. It may be read in the Archivio Storico Italiano. Frederick alludes to the battle in his letters. Innocent's successor thus addresses the Perugians; 'Vos estis gens magnifica et strenua multitudo, congregatio fortium.'

fled to Rome, as the champions of Jesus Christ; the Lord had caused His face to shine upon them. Full powers were granted by the Pope to Cardinals Regnier and Stephen, as if the Kingdom was already conquered. Everything seemed to be going well; a rival to Frederick had just been set up in Germany.

But however flourishing the Pope's cause might be elsewhere, the state of his unhappy partizans in Capaccio was appalling. They had made a fatal mistake in running into that Castle; there was no water to be procured throughout the hot summer; even had it rained, the engines of the loyalists were battering the pipes and aqueducts, so that the cisterns of the besieged could not be filled. The wretches were fighting, not merely with ropes round their necks, but with the stake, the wheel, and the quartering-block full in their view. No mercy was to be expected from a Prince like Frederick. Seven trebuchets of his were kept at work day and night battering the walls. After this had gone on for several days, the garrison yielded on the 17th of July; the siege had lasted three months. Theobald Francesco, William of Sanseverino, Gisolfo of Mannia, Geoffrey of Morra, Robert and Richard Fasanella, one hundred and ten knights and crossbowmen, and forty Lombard hostages whom Theobald had set free, were brought forth. Their eyes were put out; their hands, noses, and feet were cut off. They were in this wretched plight taken before the unrelenting Emperor. He had at one time resolved on sending Theobald and five others, maimed as they were, round the different Courts of Europe, with the Pope's bull fastened to their brows. But he con-

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tented himself with parading Theobald through Sicily and Apulia; proclamation was made to the citizens; 'Come together and behold the punishment of a monster, so that you may infer the doom of the others who have been condemned. Earth has borne a strange breed of men, who like brute animals have plotted the death of him that made them. Behold the monster, and forget not his just sentence. The enclosed paper will inform you of the sex and rank of those condemned, their names, crimes, and various punishments.'

The Castle of Capaccio was razed to its foundation stones; its defenders were burnt alive at Naples. Twenty-two noble ladies were taken in it, who were sent to Palermo, and were never seen again.* Their dungeons were opened two hundred and seventy years later, and the whole city came to view the bodies dressed in a garb long disused. A proverb was for ages current in Sicily, about the women who had the ill luck to come to Palermo.† We execrate the barbarity of Frederick towards these harmless women; but our pity is not equally moved by the doom of the male traitors. Every judicious observer, even though he might belong to their party, disliked their treachery. Thus Salimbene remarks; 'The Princes of the Kingdom, whom Frederick had raised from nothing and had exalted from the dust, lifted their heels against him; they kept no faith with him, but betrayed him. There was no wisdom in him who thought himself wise. I knew them; they suddenly vanished from the world, and for the most part made a wretched end of their lives, because they walked after vanity.'

* App. ad Malaterram. † Fazelli.

We know that even the minds of Cromwell and Buonaparte were wholly thrown off their balance when haunted by the ever-present fear of assassination; a like effect was remarked in the case of Frederick. A sad change for the worse may be seen in his character from this time; his temper was soured by the base ingratitude with which his favours had been met, and henceforth he gave the reins to his cruelty. He now made haste to repair his losses. Much money was taken when Capaccio surrendered, and the revenues of the culprits were added to the Crown. The lands held by William of Eboli and other rebels depending upon the Abbey of Cava were restored to that foundation, and its vassals were freed from the burdens which one of the traitors had forcibly imposed upon it. The kinsmen of the conspirators shared in the common ruin.* The great house of Sanseverino, one of the most remarkable in Italy, was all but rooted out. One boy alone, as in the case of the Fabii and the Geraldines, was left to preserve the old stock. His family had risked a battle with the Emperor's troops in the plains of Canossa, and had been utterly defeated. One of them fled to Biseglia to find a ship; remembering that his nephew, a child nine years old, was left behind, he turned to Donatillo of Matera, a faithful retainer, and said; 'Two comrades are enough for me; go you and see if by any means you can save that boy.' The servant accordingly went to Venosa, bribed the Castellan with forty Augustals, and got little Roger through a postern gate at night,

* Charles of Anjou, as we see by his registers, restored many fiefs to the traitors who had forfeited them, 'tempore rebellionis Capudacii.'

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without any one's becoming aware of his escape. The young noble was made to change his dress, to carry a bag of almonds, and in this disguise to follow Donatillo, who rode upon a hired horse. The fugitives kept away from the public road, avoiding places where they would be known. They reached Benevento and entered the house of the brother of Roger's mother. But little comfort had they from him; 'Go, and God help you,' cried the uncle; 'get out of my house; I am not going to lose my goods for the family of Sanseverino.' The travellers then bent their steps towards Celano, the Count of that place being married to the sister of Donatillo's master; they made short journeys, so as not to tire the child, who rode on the horse when night came on. At an inn they met the Archpriest of Benevento; he remarked that the boy, though dressed in tattered clothes, ate his food in a very aristocratic fashion. 'Your son, is he?' said the priest to Donatillo; 'he is not like you.' 'Perhaps,' answered the servant, 'my wife played me a trick.' Many more questions were asked, and when the guests had retired to bed, the priest was overheard talking to Roger. Donatillo, in great alarm, went in, fell on his knees, and confessed all, beseeching the stranger for the love of God to save the child and keep the secret. The priest gave the desired promise; on the morrow he took the noble fugitive into his carriage and brought him to the Countess. She had heard of the disastrous fate of her house eight days before; she burst into tears on seeing her nephew in such a sorry plight; but he was soon fed and clothed. His aunt, being a very clever woman, contrived to send him to the Pope under the escort of fourteen knights.

Innocent allotted a thousand florins a year for the child's maintenance, since the Sanseverini had been ruined through their devotion to the Church. The good Countess died two years later, and bequeathed twenty-four thousand florins to her nephew. He grew up to be a fine youth, ready for any enterprise; he became the head of the banished Apulian Guelfs, and returned home after Frederick's death, with Fasanella and some of the Morras. He fought on the side of Charles against Conradin. Innocent bestowed the hand of one of his many nieces upon the youthful heir of the Sanseverini, with a thousand ounces of gold for her dowry. This story Spinello the Chronicler had from the faithful Donatillo himself. It is a rare thing in the annals of the Thirteenth Century to find an Apulian who would not betray his master. The other conspirators who escaped were rewarded by the Pope in the following year, a strong proof of his connivance. Asserting that there was now no King in Sicily, he gave certain castles near Salerno to Pandulf and Gilbert Fasanella, the cities of Conza and Stabia to Otho of Laviano, the town of Sarno to William Francesco, and another castle to Richard, William's brother. But it was many years before the grantees could enter into possession. Frederick was most angry with the City of cities for sheltering these traitors. In old times she used to banish wicked men, and was rewarded by becoming the mistress of the world; her blindness in forsaking the example set by the ancients was amazing. The wretches had been raised from the mud to the highest honours both in the Empire and in the Kingdom; they had often sate at table with their Lord; yet they had attempted the life of the Roman

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Cæsar. Ought not the city of Rome, the head of the Holy Empire, to exterminate the traitors? From another letter of this time it appears that many Apulians, who had been away from home during the late rising were afraid to return, lest they should be suspected of complicity in the plot. All were exhorted to come home, except those outlawed for treason or other crimes.

The troubles in Apulia were scarcely appeased before mutiny began to spread in another quarter. In July the Saracens in Sicily attempted their last revolt. Frederick sharply chid them for their madness, telling them that God had given them over to a reprobate mind. A month was granted them to return to their duty and to come down from the mountains. They made a very feeble resistance this time; their bravest warriors had probably long been lost to them. Very soon they were putting up prayers for mercy. The Emperor sent the news to Eccelin; the rebels on the mainland and in the island had been alike mastered, and there was now nothing in the way of another march into the North. The Count of Caserta banished all the Saracens from Sicily, and sent them to join their brethren at Lucera.*

A reign of terror, as we have seen, was established in Southern Italy. The North also underwent chastisement. It was discovered that several citizens of Parma had been deep in the late conspiracy. Enzio and Lancia marched into the town and gave out in the public Council that the kinsmen of certain there present had been in the plot. The wretched Theobald Francesco, their late Podesta, had been

* App. ad Malaterram.

tempted by the bait of the Sicilian Crown, which Bernard Orlando Rosso, the Pope's brother-in-law, had promised to bestow. Enzio destroyed the houses of twenty Guelf knights at Reggio, forwarding the owners to his father; he also razed the dwellings of the Parmesan exiles, and imprisoned sixty of their party at Cremona and Reggio.* The Podesta of Parma was changed by the Emperor no less than three times this year; one of these officials was sent in chains into Apulia. The Piazza of Parma became the scene of cruel executions; the Bishop's Palace was occupied and his revenues confiscated; all the churches were taxed, and it was proclaimed that any one daring to bring in Papal briefs should lose a hand and foot. Fresh desertions to Piacenza took place.† Some sharp fighting went on between that city and Enzio; later in the year he was despatched to Turin by his father, to prevent the Pope's soldiers from crossing into Lombardy; the Count of Savoy forbade them to pass.‡

About the time that the Apulian conspiracy was discovered, Frederick had sent to Lyons the Archbishop of Palermo, the Bishop of Pavia, the Abbots of Monte Cassino, Cava, and Casanova, with Roland and Nicholas of the Dominican Order. These ecclesiastics had examined the Emperor on the Creed and had found him sound in the faith. Innocent at first hesitated to receive the envoys, since they were wrong in advocating the cause of an excommunicated man. Moreover, in the letters which they brought, Frederick was styled Emperor and King contrary to the late sentence. 'Hear us then,' said

* Chronicon. † Chron. Parmense. ‡ Chronicon.

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they, 'as the messengers of a simple Christian.' Otho and two other Cardinals were deputed to try the cause; the ambassadors avowed themselves ready to swear that Frederick was sound in the faith. But Innocent declared the whole of the proceedings to be void; he repeated all the charges against Frederick established at the Council, and upbraided the envoys for their presumption in having undertaken to examine the Emperor at all. They were questioned by the Pope in public, and it was found that they themselves or their kinsmen were living under Frederick's tyranny. The only concession Innocent would make was, that he promised his rival an interview, should the Emperor choose to come unarmed, with small attendance, within a suitable period. A guarantee of security would also be given. Frederick was enraged at the rebuff. 'We have always craved for peace,' he wrote, 'but the Pope would not hear a word of peace. What would be the lot of other Princes, were he to obtain his will concerning us? He tramples on them already in his ravings. Let his power be restricted to things spiritual.'

Frederick had now abandoned peaceful overtures, and had once more resorted to threats; but it was said that he did not confine himself to mere words. Two murderers were caught, who had been sent to attempt Innocent's life. It was suspected by some that the whole affair was a contrivance of the Church party, in order to blacken Frederick. A more dangerous conspiracy was soon afterwards discovered. Walter of Ocra, passing through Lyons, lodged in the same house as an old soldier of Frederick's named Ralph, a very cunning and courageous man. The statesman offered a bribe of 300 talents

to induce Ralph to murder the Pope; there could be no sin in the deed, since the Court of Lyons was a nest of usury and simony. Reginald, the owner of the house where the pair lodged, being well known at the Palace, undertook to introduce the murderer into the Pope's presence at the right time. Walter of Ocra left Lyons, having put things in train; but within a few days Reginald was lying on his death-bed. The priest, to whom he confessed, warned Innocent of the plot; Ralph was put to the most horrible tortures until he revealed the whole. Shortly afterwards, two Italian knights were seized for the same crime, who boasted that forty of their comrades had sworn to take the life of the Pope, the disturber of the world; such a deed would be pleasing both to God and man. Henceforth Innocent kept close in his chamber, and hardly stirred out, even to perform mass. He was guarded by fifty armed men day and night.*

The Holy See may at first sight seem crippled and degraded by its exile; yet a glance at the documents that issued from Lyons will give a most lofty idea of its power. The root of the transplanted tree is firm as ever, and its branches are spreading in every direction. Innocent still receives the homage of earth, while the Empire is falling to pieces. His tax-gatherers command respect in the rudest parts of Christendom; in one year alone he sends forth nearly seven hundred letters on the business of the Church.† The Archdeacon of Liege, the Pope who afterwards brought into Italy the exterminator

* M. Paris.

† See the appendix to Von Beham's letters.

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of the Suabian race, exacts from Poland one-fifth of the Church revenues to feed the great war; at the same time he abolishes the Polish way of keeping Easter. A King of Russia joins the Latin communion, but afterwards draws back. A crusade is preached against the heretics in Bosnia; those in Languedoc and Friesland have long ceased to give serious trouble. The capture of Seville is reported from the West, that of Damietta from the East. The Prince of Achaia is ordered to march against the Greek schismatics, who are panting to retake their capital; Albania is welcomed back to the pale of the true Church. The affairs of Portugal, Pomerania, and Hungary need constant watching.* Haco, although a bastard, is crowned King of Norway by the Roman Legate, the Bishop of Sabina, after paying 15,000 marks for the honour; 4,000 more are wrested from England during the Legate's stay there on his voyage to the North. Haco is offered the Crown of Germany forfeited by Frederick, but the Norwegian refuses the bait.† The King of Scotland obtains a dispensation from eating fish, finding this diet hurtful to his health. The Slavonic language, claimed as a legacy from St. Jerome, is allowed in public worship. Innocent endeavours to draw the Greeks, Armenians, Nestorians, Jacobites, and Maronites into the Roman fold. He is in constant correspondence with the Sultans of the East, although his example must not be copied by his Imperial enemy. The Pope issues letters of protection to the Jews, who are being butchered by angry mobs; at the same time he has waggon-loads of copies of the

* Raynaldus.

† M. Paris.

Talmud burnt at Paris. He will not allow Christian nurses or maidservants to be employed in Jewish households; a prejudice that has come down to our day.* But the greatest achievement undertaken at Innocent's behest was that of the Franciscan friar, John of Piano Carpo, who made his way to the seat of the Tartar Khan, in spite of hunger, heat, and cold; arrayed himself in the Court costume of purple; and had an interview with the Emperor of all men, the strength of God. John brought back a wonderful wooden cup and some articles of gorgeous apparel for the Pope, as well as a letter summoning his Holiness into Tartary, if he wished to stave off another bloody inroad. Two years and a half were occupied by the friar in going and returning.† Meanwhile, a Dominican was sent to the Tartar Khan who ruled in Persia, and this envoy narrowly escaped with his life.‡

But great as the influence of Innocent might be over other realms, it would be of little avail, should France turn against him. Of this there now seemed every prospect. In the middle of 1246 Frederick was able to reckon on the help of the Duke of Burgundy, the Count of Bar, and other French nobles, although they had taken the Cross. The arrogance of the clergy had disgusted the aristocracy; the priests, the sons of slaves, were attempting to judge the causes of free men; yet France, as it was remarked, owed her conversion to the warrior rather than to the churchman. Frederick's example was beginning to bear fruit; the French Barons talked of reducing the clergy to Apostolic poverty, and

* Raynaldus. † Salimbene. ‡ Raynaldus.

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threatened mutilation, should the reverend fathers meddle with the decision of any suits, save those for heresy, matrimony, and usury. A league was formed, having the Duke of Burgundy, the Counts of Brittany, Angoulême, and Saint Pol at its head. The allies pledged themselves to stand up for the rights of the nobility, to subscribe a yearly sum for this object, and to defy excommunication. Among those who set their seals to the league, which was to be permanent, we remark the name of the young Seneschal of Champagne, the best of Crusaders. His Holiness soon took alarm at this outburst of public spirit. He wrote to the Bishop of Tusculum, the Cardinal Legate who afterwards followed Louis to the Holy Land; 'Bitter is our sorrow, when we see that those old defenders of the Church, in whom we used to place our chief trust, are contriving unheard-of assaults against us. If it had been mine enemy, I could have borne it. The Church is undergoing enough already from the man her foe, who is everywhere sowing tares; but we hear with grief that certain of the Barons of France have conspired together to reduce to thraldom the Bride of the everlasting King. Let them remember the good example set by Charlemagne; had they called to mind the fact that they subject themselves to excommunication by enacting laws against the freedom of the Church, they would not perhaps have acted as they have. Do you, brother, animate the Prelates to resistance; denounce excommunication against the abettors of the league, and declare their statutes to be of no effect. If any are obstinate, they shall be deprived of their Church fiefs, and their offspring shall be

debarred from entering holy orders; if the clerks who have joined the league do not instantly quit it, they shall be stripped of their clerical privileges.' The Pope clearly intimates that Frederick is at the bottom of the intrigue, which if successful would change the state of the Church.

A few months later, the suspected promoter of the league wrote to his French allies, abusing Innocent. 'The Pope has given away to another the Roman Empire, which has been for so long a time in the House of Staufen; * he has put his sickle into our harvest; finding that no one would attack us during our life, he has hired men from the bosom of our household to conspire our death. He has inflicted torture upon certain of our followers, and has thus wrung from them a suborned confession of our plotting his murder, a thing abhorrent to our magnificence and moreover useless. If we were to have him slain, his death would bequeath an undying contest to ourselves and our offspring. He spoke of our death beforehand as a certain event; he sent hired soldiers under a Bishop to help the conspirators. He is now maintaining the ruffians, who escaped, at Anagni, upon the goods of the Church. Does he not then acknowledge his complicity in the crime? He alleges his compassion for exiles, but what can be a more dreadful precedent than the fostering of the murderers of Kings? See if these be the weapons of Popes, to sow discord, whence follows the overthrow of kingdoms. What trust can we have in such a Father, who tries to murder his son as well as to disinherit him?'

* This is the only place where Frederick names his family.

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The Pope, finding his threats scorned by the French nobles, had recourse to bribes, and by a lavish distribution of Church revenues won back the hearts of the mutineers.* Happy was it for him that he took this method of blunting the edge of Frederick's keen weapons, for the summer of 1247 would have seen the end of the war, had France failed Innocent. He addressed conciliatory letters to her pious King, the ready mediator been Church and Empire. The Pope willed not the death of the sinner; he was anxious, he said, for the salvation of Frederick; the Emperor should be treated as mildly as it was possible to treat him without sin, upholding the honour of God and the Church. Vague indeed was this promise! Frederick thanked Louis for pleading a cause which was in reality common to both Sovereigns. The Pope and his brethren, it would be found, were striving to sever the old tie between the Roman Empire and the realm of France. Both powers had been equally devoted to the cause of the Church, yet their prayers were unheard by Innocent. Let both alike stand up for their temporal rights, and all would be well. The union of equal planets produced a wholesome influence on the lower bodies.

Louis had his heart in the coming Crusade, and Frederick humoured the fondest wishes of this much-coveted ally. All the Sicilian authorities were ordered to facilitate the cheap purchase and exportation of horses, arms, and provisions, for the pious enterprize. The only condition annexed was that these stores should be placed out of the reach of the rebels

* M. Paris.

at Acre. Hugh of Albamara, another of Frederick's lay envoys, went to Paris; his mission was to stipulate that any conquest the Crusaders might make should be given up to the King of Jerusalem and Conrad his heir. Louis answered that, since he was going to the East in the cause of God alone, no rights of any Christian man should be prejudiced. Some contemplated alterations of a treaty made between the two Sovereigns were thought too important to be set down on paper; the proposal, whatever it was, and the answer were conveyed by the mouth of the faithful Hugh, to the loss of posterity. Innocent's way of helping the Crusade was to absolve Henry of Cyprus from the oath of homage which that King had sworn to Frederick a score of years before; this was one of the consequences of the sentence given at Lyons. In vain did the Catholicos of the Armenians, for the sake of Palestine, entreat the Pope to abrogate that sentence.*

If Rome looked to France for armed partizans, she depended on England for the sinews of war. Our unhappy country found the money which caused streams of blood to flow on both sides of the Alps. If a German Bishop was wavering in his allegiance to the Emperor, if a Lombard city sought to repair its walls battered by the Imperial mangonels, if an Apulian noble was plotting treason, British gold in good store was ready in the Pope's hands; with this deserters could be lured and old friends upheld. The Norman owners of England were called upon to provide the Guelf champions with money, just as the Norman lords of Sicily furnished

* Raynaldus.

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supplies, whether willingly or not, to the Ghibellines. If Poland and Norway, lands almost barbarous, could send thousands of marks to Lyons for the holy war, what might not be expected from England, 'our garden of delights, our inexhaustible well,' as Innocent was pleased to call the favoured country! He even hoped to get money from the Scotch, and his Legate drained 6000 marks out of Ireland. King Henry was not made of such stern stuff as King Louis, who forbade his Prelates to lend the Pope a farthing. The English Sovereign stood firm indeed for a short time after the rebuff his envoys had met with at the Council, but he soon fell back into his former state of abject dependency upon the Papacy. English patriots saw, not without a pang, the attempted ruin of Frederick; if he went down before Rome, what was to become of less powerful monarchies? In 1246, Innocent openly charged the English King with following Frederick's example; the realm was threatened with an interdict, only staved off by the manly bearing of the English Cardinal. English suitors could gain little attention after this at the Court of Lyons. Innocent sought still further to avenge himself by urging King Louis to make an attack upon the rebellious island. Our Bishops seem to have lost heart; all those who were at the Council set their seals at the Pope's bidding to the hateful acknowledgment of tribute made by King John. The foreign Archbishop of Canterbury was a most useful tool in the Papal hands, while the patriotic Bishop of Lincoln was hooted by Innocent's courtiers, on being heard to cry, 'O money, money, how much power you have, especially here!' The English Pre-

lates were forced to make a grant of 11,000 marks at one sitting; 400 more were wrung from the Abbey of St. Albans alone. The Abbot of Abingdon was summoned to Lyons to give satisfaction to a Roman, for whom sufficient provision, in accordance with the Papal orders, had not been made; a yearly pension of fifty marks was exacted. The Abbot of St. Edmund's was ordered to pay 800 marks to a merchant, one of the Pope's creditors. Italian succeeded to Italian in the English benefices, men who were said to pluck the wool from the sheep, and to scrape away the flesh along with the wool. Why was England, men asked, to be trampled upon more than other lands? she had never robbed the Pope. None of her sons drew revenues from Rome or Genoa. Innocent however went on to exact the third of their income from beneficed clerks, and the half from non-residents. The twenty years that followed Pope Gregory's second declaration of war against Frederick are indeed a most mournful chapter in the ecclesiastical history of England.*

It remains to consider the state of that land, into which no small portion of these ill-gotten gains found their way. The civil war in Germany was kindled anew by the sentence pronounced at Lyons. A few weeks after that decision, Innocent sent to Wurzburg as his Legate Philip Fontana, the Bishop of Ferrara. The character of this churchman well deserves attention, as he is a fair specimen of the agents who best carried out the plans of Rome in this her hour of agony. He came from Pistoia in Tuscany, and is described as one whose courage and

* M. Paris.

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wisdom had been already tried at the taking of Ferrara; he knew neither father nor mother, preferring the Church to them.* Being a great toper, he had a strong dislike to mixing water with his choice wine; when unable to go abroad, he would have a bottle uncorked at each end of his house, and would walk up and down between the two for exercise, singing hymns. Contrary to what might have been expected in a votary of Bacchus, Philip was of a gloomy and sullen cast of mind, subject to fits of rage so that at times no one dared speak to him; he was denounced by his own party as a son of Belial. He was merciless towards his servants; one he threw into a river and towed for a long way astern of his ship; another he half roasted alive; a third he kept in a dungeon until the wretch was eaten by rats. He had a body-guard of forty armed men, who stood in awe of him as though he had been Eccelin or the Devil. He would never willingly forgive a trespass. His chief tenderness was for his natural son, decorously styled his nephew, a youth handsome as Absalom. Philip was a great favourite with the begging-friars, his best allies, for whom he kept open house. He made sure of one day mounting the Papal throne, a brilliant destiny which had been promised him by a necromancer at Toledo.†

This warlike Legate had fine tools ready to his hand, the Prelates of Germany, men whose forwardness in the field of battle astonished strangers from other countries. 'See what courageous and warlike Archbishops we have in Germany,' wrote an English Prince to his Royal brother a few years

* Mon. Patavinus. † Salimbene.

later, 'it would be a good thing for you to have such in England to defend you against your rebels.' * The Archbishops of Mayence and Cologne were unflagging in their zeal, and were reinforced by Arnold the new Archbishop of Treves, a man of learning, who had received the pall from Innocent. This Prelate gave noble entertainments at Ehrenbreitstein, and was also endowed with a taste for war; he fortified his own city and Stolzenfels, besides blockading for two years the fortress on the Moselle held by the tyrant Zorn, the savage Marshal of the Bavarian Duke.† Relying upon the support of these three Archbishops, the Legate proceeded to set up a King in opposition to Frederick and Conrad. The Prince whom the Papal party pitched upon was Henry the Landgrave of Thuringia, surnamed Raspe. To any one who measures men by their deeds rather than by their words Henry will seem a selfish, grasping, and ungrateful Prince. He had driven forth into exile his sister-in-law, St. Elizabeth; he had set aside his nephews, the children of his brother who died on the eve of Frederick's Crusade; and he had forgotten his duty to the Kaiser, who had placed him in a post of the highest trust. Henry had at one time been reviled by the Church party; but since he had consented to turn upon his old friends, it was found out that he was a Christian and Catholic Prince. The Papal Court sent 25,000 marks to decide his wavering scruples.‡

Innocent, safe at Lyons, directed the election, and recommended the Landgrave to the notice of the

* Rymer. † Gesta Arch. Trevirensium.
‡ Chron. Sampetr.

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Princes. Peace, he told them, would speedily return to earth, if the new King was chosen without any delay; and all the clergy throughout Germany were ordered to swear allegiance to Henry on pain of suspension and deposition. On the 22nd of May, 1246, he was elected King at a village near Wurzburg by the three Archbishops, a few Bishops, and one or two lay Princes; the great body of the latter standing aloof. He was scoffed at as the King of the Priests, just as Frederick had been jeered at long before.* The Legate talked of the vast crowd of Prelates and Princes that came to the new Court. Yet several of the high clergy had refused to appear; in August the Archbishops of Salzburg and Bremen, the Bishops of Passau, Brixen, Prague, Utrecht, Worms, Constance, Augsburg, Paderborn, Hildesheim, and Freisingen, the last of whom had returned to his old party, the Abbot of St. Gall and four of his brethren, were all ordered to clear themselves before the Pope within a month's time; not one of them had chosen to come to Henry's Court or to send proper excuses. Philip strongly advised deposition, and that the Bishops of Worms and Utrecht should be the first sufferers. Frederick, it was plain, had still many powerful allies in the North.

On the 25th of July, the first battle was fought. The new King was marching on Frankfort, where he was to hold a Diet; Conrad took up a strong position on the banks of the Main, to bar the way. 'He showed us his back and not his face,' wrote the victorious Henry; 'he fled as men are wont to fly who fight with the Holy Empire.' The Suabian

* Alb. Stadensis.

party left behind them their waggons, tents, and spoils, together with 623 prisoners; many were slain or drowned in the river. The conqueror looked forward to the day when he should measure himself with the great Frederick. The truth was, that Conrad lost the battle owing to the treachery of two Counts, those of Wurtemberg and Groningen, who deserted to the enemy with 2000 men. The traitors had been bribed with 6000 silver marks, and had each been promised half of the Duchy of Suabia. Frederick, on hearing the news of this disaster, swore that he would march into Germany himself.*

The usurper, however, thought himself able to provide Frederick with employment at home. Asserting that almost all the nobles of Suabia were at his feet, Henry wrote to the Archbishop of Ravenna, 'a special member of the Holy Empire,' bidding that Prelate cheer up the plundered exiles of Rimini, Ravenna, and Faenza, since their affairs would soon be arranged. The new King sent his envoys to Genoa. The Milanese were already in close correspondence with him; he assured them of his favour, since they had borne the burden and heat of the day, and were an immoveable pillar of the Church and Empire, a pattern to the province. 'We,' Henry wrote, 'have set up a shield and a sword on behalf of the Christian people, and we hope to break the horns of the enemy.' Southern Germany was coming over to his side; Strasburg broke a truce with Frederick's followers, and Innocent speedily sent to absolve this breach of oath. The Pope's spirits rose

* See the letters of 1246.

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with the success of his candidate. 'No peace,' he wrote, 'shall ever be made with Frederick, so long as he remains Emperor or King.'

But while Suabia was quitting the side of its own Sovereign, and while Austria was in hopeless confusion, there was one part of the South which all the efforts of Innocent could not detach from Frederick's side. Otho the Duke of Bavaria, whom the Legate had placed under the ban immediately after the Council, was corresponding with his old friend Albert von Beham in the cypher they had long used. Albert, now residing at Lyons, wrote a letter to the Duke in the summer of 1246, which throws the clearest possible light upon the Papal intentions. 'Not only all Germany, but also Bohemia and Moravia, know how I have served you. The Holy Roman Church used to love you, and would have raised you and your heirs above all other Princes. But now she is threatening to strip you of your States and to excommunicate you, since it is no small rashness in you to contract an alliance with your father's murderer, who has been condemned by the Council of Lyons. You banished me from your cities so that I had to fly to caves and woods, when I was the only man in all Germany who stood up for the Catholic faith. Yet I will strive to further your interests, as you ask me. I set three courses before you; let me know your choice as soon as possible. My first suggestion is, that you break off your proposed alliance with Conrad of Suabia; I will prevail upon the Pope to issue letters declaring the betrothal null and void from the beginning. I will then persuade him to provide some far better match for your daughter. He shall make a peace between you and

your cousin Henry the Catholic King, and shall recall your excommunication. My second offer is, that if you must have Conrad for your son-in-law, I will persuade the Pope to confirm the marriage and to bestow the Kingdoms of Sicily and Jerusalem upon Conrad; but he must first forsake his father Frederick as a heretic and damned sinner. For my Lord the Pope is bent upon keeping the Roman Empire for King Henry; and he will not go back from this purpose, even if the stars of heaven were to fall and the rivers were to be turned into blood. There is a third scheme, which I think that neither Angels nor Archangels could obtain for you; this is, that Frederick should be restored to the Empire, and that Conrad should rule under him and wed your daughter; but I fear that the wheel of Frederick's ruin will drag down you, dearest gossip, your heirs, and Conrad, along with Frederick. Had you all the gold of King Solomon, you could not withstand this decision of the Holy Roman Church; the Church of God must prevail. So you had better shun the third plan, if you would shun Frederick's doom. You must send me your answer with speed; if you delay, I shall not be able to do hereafter what I can do now. Let no one but your notary read this. As to the malice of Frederick of Staufen in that other business of mine, the bearer of this will confer with you.'

It would seem that the Duke of Bavaria rejected both of the courses which Albert deemed possible. Elizabeth, the Duke's daughter, was given to Conrad on the 1st of September, receiving from her bridegroom certain lands as her morning-gift; a few years later she became the mother of Conradin, the

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last of the Hohenstaufens.* The King found that he had still many partizans in the German towns. The Kaiser had once depressed these in order to favour the Prelates and Princes; but he had now seen fit to change his policy. Thus Augsburg and Lubeck were fostered by Conrad, while Ratisbon obtained a reversal of the Imperial edict of Ravenna, since Siffrid her Bishop had gone over to the Papal party; the burghers were now allowed to choose their own magistrates, and the former charter obtained by the Bishop was declared void. Siffrid died in 1246, and his successor was named by the Legate. The aged Archbishop of Salzburg, one of the few Germans still alive who had played a leading part in 1212, was employing the last year of his life in striving to serve two masters. Many letters passed between him and Albert von Beham. Eberhard propitiated this old enemy with the Provostship of Neustadt; and Albert in return pleaded the Archbishop's cause at Lyons, advising the anxious client to spend a good deal of money on the affair. It would be prudent to imitate the French Prelates and send gifts of plate and rings to the Cardinals. Murmurs were heard at Lyons that it never before had been known, that so old, so wise, so noble, so mighty, and so rich a Prince as Eberhard had remained for so many years under excommunication; this could have happened in no other country but Germany. The Pope had threatened deposition, in compliance with the request of the Spanish and French Prelates. 'You are too careless, Father,' Albert wrote; 'your messengers ought to crowd the Roman Court, as those of

* Ann. Wormat.

other Princes do, even if you had no business there pending. You must think of your safety; the term is drawing on, which neither man nor angel can change; you will become a beggar, forsaken by your flatterers; now is your only chance of returning to the bosom of the Church. Send back my messengers without keeping them for even one night.' But all Albert's hints were thrown away; the good old Archbishop died late in 1246, still under the ban of Rome; and his mitre, which he had held for no less than six and forty years, was disputed by two or three claimants.*

Albert was now in correspondence with sundry other warm partizans of Frederick. Landolf of Worms authorized his agent at Lyons to borrow thirty thousand marks, for disbursement at that most expensive of Courts. Old Rudiger of Passau sent thither two Dominicans, and offered Albert a safe-conduct, if the wily priest chose to come and take possession of his Deanery. But the Pope and Cardinals declared that their faithful servant should not go back to Passau, until all his rights had been restored to him. Nor was this all; we find Albert writing to the Bishop; 'The Pope is much displeased with you, having heard that you have been publicly announcing in several Austrian towns a treaty, said to have been made between Frederick the most Holy Roman Emperor and the Church. The Pope declares these to be unheard-of lies, without a word of truth in them; and he says that you are still under the ban. I counsel you to shun the favour of that accursed Frederick, to trample upon his good name

* Herm. Altahensis.

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whenever you can, and to serve Henry, the new King. All who come hither from Bavaria are uttering loud complaints against you. Make no noise or parade, but send gifts to the Pope and Cardinals by some wary messenger; borrow money from any quarter.' Albert was much annoyed, on finding that the Canons of his Cathedral had been so careless as to let their seal fall into the hands of a ribald knave, who had employed it to procure advances of money from the merchants. The Dean complained that his time was much cut up at Lyons, since the Pope insisted upon all the clergy attending lectures in the Canon Law; some had to be present at two of these lectures every day; when this was over, all the Cardinals must be visited.*

But it was no easy task, even for men gifted with the energy of Albert or Philip, to trample Frederick's Crown in the dust. The Kaiser sent letter after letter into Germany from distant Apulia. He put his trust, he said, in the right hand of the King of Kings, who would take the side of justice. The burghers of the towns had now become Frederick's special allies; he thanked them for forbidding his name to be blasphemed in their Churches. All their watchfulness was needed. The Pope had ordered that no other title should be given to the deposed Kaiser, but that of Frederick of Staufen.† The Dominicans and Franciscans were preaching a Crusade against their great enemy, and had persuaded many to take the Cross.‡ 'If that Pope,' wrote Frederick, 'calling himself the Vicar of Christ, would follow

* See Von Beham's letters for 1246.

† Richer. Senon. ‡ Chron. Erphord.

the pattern of his Master who teaches us to forgive our debtors, he would not heap wrong upon wrong, or send the Bishop of Ferrara to harm us.' He then begs the burghers of Spires to forbid their town to the Legate's messengers.

The Pope had not the least intention of forgiveness. He despatched a strong letter to the Archbishop of Mayence, referring to Frederick as the scourge of the clergy; seculars and regulars alike were to preach the Crusade against the tyrant through the cities of Germany. All who would fight, and all who would give their money for this object, should have pardon for their sins, just as if they were on the road to Palestine. The Pope expressly forbade the pious to succour the Holy Land; they must take up the Cross against Frederick. In Alsace, as we learn from the Imperial letters, the Bishop of Strasburg refused the sacraments of the Church to all who bore arms for the Kaiser. The Papal party even suggested to Conrad that he should quit the side of his father, an excommunicated man. The youth sent back a stern defiance to the traitors, and took the field at the head of 15,000 men; he surprised King Henry, and defeated him in a most bloody battle. A part of the Pope's money fell into the hands of the conquerors, who hanged many of their captives.* Henry fled home to his native Thuringia, and died on the 17th of February at the Castle of the Wartburg, so famous in German history. It is said, that on his unwillingly assuming the crown, he had foretold that he should not live a year. The Papal party lost heart at the death of

* M. Paris.

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their champion; even Philip, the Legate, thought with dismay on the chance of his falling into hostile hands. He enjoined on the Guardian of a Franciscan Convent the task of getting him out of the city where he was, and of bringing him to a place of shelter. He ordered the friar to speak in Latin, never in German; forbidding the revelation of his secret until leave should be given. Philip and a companion put on the garb of St. Francis; the Guardian, acting as their guide, tried the various gates of the city, but found all shut. At last they saw a great dog creep out by means of a narrow passage under one of the gates; they tried the same method, but Philip was too fat. However, he lay down upon his belly and struggled through, while the Guardian stood above, pressing down with toe and heel the more prominent parts of the holy man's person. That same day, the party reached another Franciscan Convent; the foreigners were passed off as illustrious Lombards. On making himself known, when all danger was at an end, the Legate cried; 'I was always a friend to the Order of blessed Francis; and a friend to it I will be all the days of my life.' He kept his word.*

Germany was distracted by disputed successions to her Duchies, as well as by disputed claims to her Crown. Three Princely houses came to an end, as regards male heirs, in three successive years. In 1246, the old line of Babenberg, so rich in Saints and heroes, which had ruled Austria for almost three centuries, disappeared. Frederick, the last Duke of his race, had parted in anger from his Im-

* Salimbene.

perial namesake at Verona. Early in the next year, after escaping a murderous plot of his nobles, he routed the Bohemians with great loss. But on the 15th of June, the warlike Austrian fought his last field. King Bela of Hungary, who was by this time delivered from the Tartars, marched to the Leitha with a mighty host, aided by the barbarian Kings of Russia and Prussia. Frederick defended his Duchy at the head of a small army; many of the invaders fell beneath the German sword or were drowned in the Leitha; but the Duke of Austria, although victorious, was slain, probably by treachery. His mother Theodora, a Greek Princess, died of grief within a week; the provinces of Austria and Styria are described as sitting groaning in the dust. The traveller, who finds his way from Vienna to the cloisters of Heiligenkreutz, may still behold the sculptured form of the last of the Babenbergs; in that Abbey Duke Frederick found the rest to which he had been a stranger for most of his life.

The state of Austria for the next thirty years was most wretched. Margaret, the sister of the late Duke and the widow of the Kaiser's son Henry, was the first claimant who came forward. Hermann the Margrave of Baden wedded Gertrude, the Duke's niece who had been so near becoming Empress; he put forward her rights and disputed the Duchy. This pretender, who was backed by Rome on the understanding that he would take the Cross against Frederick, died within a very few years; the issue of the match was a son, the faithful friend of Conradin both in the field and on the scaffold. The Austrian nobles, now that the strong hand of Duke Frederick was for ever gone, broke out into the

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most furious civil wars. Otho von Eberstein, who had been named their Captain by the Kaiser, could make no impression upon them. They were invited to a conference at Verona, but were robbed on the way by the new Archbishop of Salzburg; Frederick then appointed the Duke of Bavaria to be Captain in Austria, and the Count of Goritz to be Captain in Styria. The state of these once fruitful provinces became worse and worse; the poor cried out, the Churches were robbed, fires were kindled, and there was not a corner of the land that did not groan under oppression. The export of provisions and wine ceased altogether. The Duke of Bavaria was held in scorn as a mere woman; his son was equally unsuccessful in asserting the rights of the Crown. The chief exploit of their troops was an attack upon the Abbey of Garsten. 'I trust in the Lord that so great evils shall not be unavenged,' says the Chronicler of the Convent, who has left a picture of these awful times. Austria had her full share of the general misery, the result of the Papal policy. The King of Russia married Gertrude and made an attempt to seize her fair province; the King of Hungary, called into the field by Innocent, was guilty of the most hideous massacres in his raids; the Duke of Bavaria once more came forward; but the successful candidate was Ottocar of Bohemia, who had wedded Margaret. He gave himself out as the champion of Rome against heretics, and maintained his sway in Austria for many years, until he had to make way for the rising House of Habsburg.*

Thuringia was for a time as much harassed by

* See the Austrian Chronicles in Pertz, 9.

civil wars as the Duchy of Austria. King Henry, the Landgrave, died early in 1247 ; he was the last heir male of his house, and four claimants by female succession stood forth to contest his dominions. The real struggle lay between the Margrave of Meissen, to whom Frederick sent the feudal banner of investiture, and Sophia the Duke of Brabant's wife, whom Innocent abetted. The strife was protracted until after the Kaiser's death ; the knights of Thuringia rejoiced at the wars in which their province was involved, since they became thereby more and more independent. The disputing Princes made an agreement, by which the settlement of the question was delayed, until a King of Germany should be elected, recognized by both parties.*

Austria was left masterless in 1246, Thuringia in 1247 ; another vast heritage lapsed in 1248. The Dukes of Meran, formerly petty Lords in the Tyrol, had taken rank among the most powerful Princes in Germany by the beginning of this century. The head of the House married a granddaughter of Barbarossa and thus acquired Franche Comté, taking the title of Count Palatine of Burgundy. One of the Meran brothers became Patriarch of Aquileia, another Bishop of Bamberg. One sister became Queen of Hungary, another would have sat on the throne of France, but for the stern opposition of Pope Innocent III. The old possessor of Franche Comté had now been in his grave for many years. His son, Otho III., who had been present at the Diet of Verona, went over to the side of the Church in 1248, and forsook the cause of his cousin the Kaiser.

* Chron. Erphord, and Chron. Sampetr. See Von Raumer.

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A few weeks afterwards he died, and his vast domains, scattered over the tract between the Adriatic and the Jura, were divided among his five sisters. He left Franche Comté to Alice, because she was the only one of them who could speak French. Frederick did not interfere in the disputes as to the succession, except that he bestowed a part of the Meran heritage upon the Duke of Bavaria and protected the city of Besançon against all claims that might be put forward by the heirs of the late Duke, 'traitor to the Empire.' The five sisters, one of whom was married to the Burgrave of Nuremberg, shared as much of the inheritance as they could get into their hands; parts of it were seized upon by various German Bishops and by the Venetians.*

Throughout all these changes, the Pope held unflinchingly to his cherished plan. A successor to Philip of Ferrara was instantly appointed in the person of Cardinal Peter Capoccio, 'an Angel of peace,' whose commission bears date the 15th of March, 1247. The purpose of the Church stood fast as ever, though her lay champion might be cut off; Frederick, the son, yea the father of wickedness, would find his snake-like craft of no avail. One of the first duties of the new Legate was to interfere in the proposed marriage of Margaret, the daughter borne to the Kaiser by the English Empress. The child had first been betrothed to the nephew of the deceased Thuringian King; after the death of her intended bridegroom, she had been sent to the Margrave of Meissen, one of the richest Princes in Germany owing to his silver mines, to be married

* Von Raumer.

to his son Albert, who was then but four years old. The Bishop of Ferrara had forbidden the marriage and had ordered the Princess to be sent back to her father within a certain time; but the Margrave, strong in the interposition of the King of Bohemia, made a successful appeal to Lyons. Still Innocent was not altogether pleased. 'How can you,' he wrote to the Lord of Meissen, 'as a wise man and a Catholic Prince, defile your house and offspring with the wicked blood of Frederick? You cannot keep the girl without danger to your soul. The proposed marriage goes against our conscience; if you consent to obey us, we absolve you from all your contracts with the said Frederick.' The match, however, was carried out, and proved most unhappy.* Innocent at the same time rebuked the Archbishop of Magdeburg for having planned another marriage between the deposed Emperor and the daughter of the Duke of Saxony.

King Henry being dead, it was no light task to set up a rival to Frederick and Conrad in Germany. The Count of Gueldres, the Earl of Cornwall, the King of Norway, the Duke of Brabant had all refused the Crown offered to each in turn by the Pope; the fate of Henry was most disheartening.† Being at a loss for a candidate, the Papal party at last fixed upon William Count of Holland, a

* From this match have sprung in direct male descent the Kings of Saxony, Portugal, and Belgium. Through it the future Kings of England will be able to trace their lineage up to Frederick the Second.

† M. Paris. King Haco told our monk that he had refused the Imperial Crown, declaring himself willing to fight against the foes of the Church, but not against those of the Pope.

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beardless youth of twenty, tall and well made, with a sleek skin and very dark hair. From his earliest years, so it was said, he had loved the hardness of iron more than the glitter of gold. At the instance of Cardinal Capoccio, the three Rhenane Archbishops, some other Prelates, and a few lay Princes elected William King of the Romans at Michaelmas. Besides being cousin to the Bishop of Liege, he was nephew to the Duke of Brabant and the Bishop of Utrecht, and the close ally of the Archbishop of Cologne. But Aix-la-Chapelle, the city of Charlemagne, was loyal to the Hohenstaufens and would not allow the Count of Holland to be crowned. Early in 1248, it was blockaded by the Papal party, which had lately been inspirited by a great victory won in Italy. Conrad could make but little resistance, though he rejected with scorn the advice tendered him to forsake the tottering cause of his father. A quantity of money was sent into Germany by the Pope; those who had taken the Cross against the Moslem were despatched against the beleaguered city, which was laid under an interdict by the Cardinal Legate. The Preachers and Minorites assembled a mighty army from all parts; the Frieslanders displayed their wonted prowess in the siege. This lasted six months; the burghers would not break their oath to the Kaiser, until their provisions had failed and their weapons had become worn-out. Their streets were flooded with water and the walls were battered into ruins. At length, a rumour of Frederick's death was spread, when the city yielded upon fair terms. Early in November, William was crowned King of Germany in Charlemagne's Church by the Archbishop of Cologne.

But the ceremony was thought by many to be invalid, since some of the Electors had opposed it. The Duke of Saxony was the chief of the malcontents, being now bent upon uniting his daughter to the Emperor himself.* William took the oath which Rome had exacted from his rival in 1213; the old times seemed to have returned; we find an Anselm von Justingen and a Werner von Bollanden holding high offices in the Court of the Pope's new nominee.† But few of the German towns followed the example of Aix-la-Chapelle. Innocent was constrained to threaten Ratisbon with extraordinary penalties; the burghers had driven away their old Bishop, the traitor Siffrid, and would not allow his corpse to be buried; they were equally rancorous against their new Bishop, whose revenues they handed over to Conrad. They recked little of the ban of the Church or the suspension of divine service in their city; on the contrary, they buried the bodies of excommunicated men in the cemetery, while they dragged through their streets the corpse of a Countess devoted to Rome, throwing it to the dogs and birds. They seized an orthodox priest, spat on him, flogged him till he bled, stretched out his arms in mockery of the Redeemer, and kept their victim in a dungeon until he ransomed himself. They enacted a law which punished with death any Crusader who should appear in their city with the Cross on his garments.‡ Conrad thanked the clergy for celebrating mass as usual, and promised to include them in any future treaty with the Pope. The Church

* M. Paris. Wikes. Beka. Melis Stoke. † Pertz, Leges.
‡ See the Pope's letter in Raynaldus.

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seemed to be losing her hold upon the masses. In 1248, the sectaries in Southern Germany grew so bold that they assembled the lay barons by the sound of bells, and broached the most daring opinions. The Pope, according to these forerunners of Luther, was a heretic; all the Bishops were simoniacal; the priests had no power to bind or loose, and could not officiate when in a state of mortal sin; no man alive, not the Pope himself, could interdict the divine offices; all Dominicans and Franciscans led evil lives and perverted the Church; no one preached the truth except the sectaries; if these had not appeared, God would have raised up preachers from the stones. 'Your ministers,' cried the heretics, 'have up to this time buried the truth and preached lies; we do the reverse. The indulgence we offer you is no snare from the Pope, but is of God himself; we dare not make mention of the Pope, so bad is his example, so perverse is his life. Pray ye for the Lord Emperor Frederick and for Conrad his son, since they are perfect and righteous.' To such a pass had Papal intrigues brought Germany. Conrad protected these heretics, just as his father was charged with protecting their brethren in Italy. But the land was not yet ripe for the Reformation; the begging friars bestirred themselves; and the Suabian nobles refused allegiance to the Royal race which had arisen from their Duchy.* Albert von Beham had kept his eye upon these chieftains and knew the resources of every one of them. According to him, the Count of Wurtemberg commanded respect by the powerful alliances of his house; the Count

* Alb. Stadensis.

of Kiburg abounded in gold and silver; the Margrave of Baden was very needy; the Count of Hohenzollern was the owner of many strongholds; he of Urach was noted for his passion for the chase; he of Neifen for his love of plundering. About this time Albert crept back into Bavaria, but was besieged by its Duke in the Castle of Wasserburg. He returned to Lyons, thirsting for revenge upon his Bishop, sturdy Rudiger of Passau, who had prevented him from taking possession of his Deanery. Albert ceased not to move heaven and earth until the Pope deposed Bishop Rudiger. The Duke, his wife and children, with Berthold von Hohemburg and many other Bavarian knights, were placed under the ban of Rome. Innocent's letters bewail the spirit of some of the German clergy. According to him, the Prelates are kindling the fire, instead of quenching it. The Bishop of Passau has become a child in his old age, has stood forth as the enemy of the Roman Church, and has given up his castles to the Duke of Bavaria. He has dared to celebrate the mass and ordain priests, after being excommunicated. Rudiger was deposed in 1250. The Bishop of Ratisbon was ordered to curse the Duke of Bavaria with bell, book, and candle, until that chief should take up the Cross against Frederick. All priests adhering to the Hohenstaufen cause were to be stripped of their benefices.

Fatal indeed was the mischief wrought by the awful Being, who, safe on the other side of the Jura and the Vosges, directed the storms sweeping over the Fatherland. The Princes seemed to abdicate their long-established rights in his favour. He insisted on naming his own candidate for each

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vacant mitre, and forbade any Chapter to choose its Bishop without a reference to Lyons. He bestowed an indulgence of forty days upon all who should come to hear the begging friars preach the holy war. Those who had taken the Cross might be absolved from their vows for money. He could be mild as well as stern, if the great cause was to be furthered. Thus, at the prayer of King William, some indulgence was shown to the clerks of Utrecht, sturdy rebels against the practice of celibacy.*

Yet there is one redeeming feature in Innocent's policy. He threw his shield over the unhappy Jews, whose sufferings in Germany were frightful. He thus writes to the Bishops in 1247; 'Some Princes among you, both lay and ecclesiastical, have been plundering the Jews, forgetting that the command "Thou shalt not kill," is binding upon the Israelites. If they murdered children, they would break their own Law. They are stripped, imprisoned, starved, and often doomed to the vilest death; they are worse off than their fathers were under Pharaoh. They have had recourse to us; we hope for their conversion some day, and we order you to use them well.'† This letter stands in most favourable contrast to a charter granted by Conrad the year before to the citizens of Frankfort. He had procured from his father their pardon for a massacre of the Jews, the slaves of the Imperial treasury. 'The slaughter took place,' Conrad remarks oddly enough, 'from negligence rather than from design.' Nearly two hundred of the Hebrews had fallen. He was still in the habit of recruiting his finances from their

* See Innocent's letters in Von Beham. † Raynaldus.

purses, as we see by his letters to the Castellan of Landskrone. Money was needed more than ever, to satisfy the Counts of Julich and Leiningen. The King was even driven to pledge his town of Nordlingen. His friends were falling away by degrees. He narrowly escaped being taken prisoner by the Count of Kiburg in a battle near Constance. In May, 1248, the Duke of Lorraine made a treaty at Strasburg with the Cardinal Legate, and took a bribe to forsake the Emperor's side. On the other hand, Metz, Toul, and Verdun stood true in their allegiance, like most of the free cities of Germany.* While these factions were harassing the Western part of the Empire, the East was divided against itself. The King of Bohemia was on the side of the Church; but his son, the famous Ottocar, backed by the Bishop of Prague, allied himself with King Conrad and the Duke of Bavaria. A war with Denmark was vexing the North. The Teutonic Order itself was sundered in twain; Henry von Hohenlohe died in 1249, and two rival Masters were set up by the Imperial and Papal parties.† If this great institution was at variance, much more so were private houses. That of Habsburg, among others, was split; Rodolph the future King of the Romans was bearing arms for the Hohenstaufens and earning substantial rewards from them; while his uncle Rodolph was complaining to the Papacy of the revolt of some vassals at Sarnen, who joined Lucerne and clave to the side of Frederick. The Chapter of Soleure was begging for favours at the hands of Conrad. Zurich drove out all her secular clergy,

* See Bréholles' Preface.

† Voigt.

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and would tolerate no friars except the Franciscans.* The Alpine country was unfavourable to the cause of Rome.

Early in 1249 died Archbishop Siffrid of Mayence, who had been allowed by the Papal Court to appropriate the revenues of all the parishes throughout his diocese that had fallen vacant during the last two years. He was cut off just at the moment when he was about to be made Legate in Germany. He was taken ill at Ingelheim, which King William soon afterwards took.† The Archbishop of Cologne obtained the Legatine office, while the Chapter of Mayence rewarded Christian, the historian of their Cathedral, with its mitre. But the new Prelate did not understand his duties. He avowed himself ready to wield the sword of the Spirit, but he shrank from burning towns and ravaging crops as deeds unbecoming a priest. King William and his party complained that Christian was unfit for the post, and Innocent deposed the peaceful Archbishop.‡ It was indeed of the highest importance to the Papal party to have a skilful commander on the Upper Rhine, now that Conrad was carrying the war into the country near Mayence. He could reckon upon the support of almost all the cities in those parts. He made a most successful campaign in the summer of 1250, starting from the loyal town of Oppenheim, and holding to ransom the villages belonging to Mayence, where King William was shut up.§ The Emperor sent a congratulatory letter to his son on hearing of these triumphs. One

* Vitoduranus. † Chron. Erphord.

‡ Christianus Moguntinus, in Boehmer. § Ann. Wormat.

of Conrad's most trusty allies in the campaign was Philip von Falkenstein; the wife of this knight had held the Castle of Trifels for the King, with its precious contents, the Insignia of the Empire and the relics used at coronations.*

When the wearer of these jewels would again command respect, was most uncertain. Nothing was further from the thoughts of men than union; even Worms, as we see by its chronicle, could not be withheld from furious outbreaks against the very men who were fighting on the same side as itself. The Papal policy had been most successful. There was hardly a corner of the land that was not visited by the scourge of the rancorous strife, the fruit of the Council of Lyons. Old houses were dying out; new ones, such as those of Baden and Wurtemberg, were rising into notice. The cities of the Rhine, wearied of constant broils, were already planning their famous League, though they still spoke of Frederick as their most Serene Lord. But the Interregnum was fated to be long; neither Conrad nor William would be able to challenge an undivided allegiance. Germany would for many years be doomed to see her children wasting their strength in battles both at home and abroad. A score of years had to pass away, before the two men necessary to the good estate of the realm would arise and bridle the mad anarchy. The virtuous Pope and the virtuous King, who were to accomplish the pacification of the Fatherland, had both signalized themselves in Fre-

* See Conrad's charter in German, where all the Insignia are named.

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derick's time. Their promotion would be sudden; the one was long a plain Archdeacon, the other was long a needy knight. Why should Germany send to Cornwall or Castile for her Cæsars, when she could boast of such a son as Rodolph of Habsburg?

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A.D. 1247—A.D. 1250.

'In sul paese, ch' Adige e Po riga,
Solea valore e cortesia trovarsi,
Prima che Federigo avesse briga.'

DANTE, *Purgatorio XVI.*

THE beginning of 1247 found Frederick in his own Kingdom, to which he had restored peace after the outbreaks of the previous year. But the wars in Germany and Upper Italy once more drew him away from the pleasures of Foggia and Lucera. Conrad and Enzio were alike looking for their father's presence. 'We are now,' he wrote, 'more free for the sword; we shall not by our absence give our foes cause to boast; we shall be beforehand with them and smite them with the hammer of our might. In the beginning of February we shall march, and we expect to find all our faithful vassals in readiness with their horses and arms, that our onslaught upon the rebels may not be delayed by any failing in the equipment of our allies.' He was above all anxious to secure the great pass over the Appenines. 'Pontremoli,' he wrote, 'is the one key and gate leading to Lombardy; we hear that the town is wavering in its faith, though the Castle remains true. Let all our good subjects unite to recover the town.' The Castellan and

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Frederick of Antioch were particularly addressed; any treaty they might make to regain the place would be ratified by their master. Cremona had a special letter from her beloved Emperor. 'We have always in heart,' he writes, 'remained with you; we should have allotted, had it been feasible, the greater part of our body to abide with you. The superstitious rashness of the rebels thinks that we are given up to delicious ease; our friends are hungering for our presence; we have therefore forsaken the charming pleasures of our Kingdom, and we are advancing, ready to bestow more favours than ever upon the deserving. Sound in body, strong in heart, we are coming with treasures gathered from the richness of our Kingdom; do you, brave men, persevere in serving us.'

One more solemn rite was performed before Frederick left Apulia. His little son Henry, named after the first Plantagenet, was now baptized, although already nine years old. He was then, in a Court held at Naples, appointed Regent of the Kingdom, as the image of his father's person. The baptism had been so long put off, in hopes that the Pope would be reconciled to the Empire and perform the rite himself; several friends residing in the Papal Court had recommended this. Both father and son wrote to King Henry of England on the occasion. The Emperor began his march through Tuscany early in spring; it was the last march he ever made into the North. He called upon Orvieto to rejoice at his successes. If he passed near Viterbo, he must have viewed with grim satisfaction the state of his old enemy. Vitale of Aversa had been hovering around it for years, and had caused

a famine by his ravages. Boys and girls were often found dead in the churches. Forty-three persons dropped in one day. Young men forsook the city, leaving their families to starve. Many of the townsfolk sought shelter in the neighbouring caverns, but the enemy used to light fires and suffocate them. Yet a few months, and Viterbo would be glad to receive a charter of pardon from the Emperor, and to pull down the Palace of Cardinal Regnier.* Frederick did not turn aside to harass Perugia, upon which the Tuscans soon afterwards made a fierce assault. He had a short time before regulated the salary of the Podesta of Castel di Pieve, a town in that district, forbidding the official to fleece the citizens.

After halting at Pisa, the Emperor marched his army through the dreaded pass of Pontremoli, and took up his quarters at Parma for the last time in his life. He then went on to Cremona, where he bestowed a most ample charter upon the Tuscan nephews of his trusty Pallavicino, with all the usual feudal rights. At Cremona he held a parliament on the 1st of May, to which came the ambassadors of every Ghibelline town in Lombardy. Three knights doomed to death were pardoned at the prayer of Eccelin da Romano.† This chief arrived at Cremona, having lately baffled a plot against his hated life. His lieutenant in Verona had been less fortunate; that officer had been assailed by a prisoner in chains rendered desperate by the approach of doom, and had received three blows on the head with a concealed knife, which caused death in a fortnight.‡

* Bussi. † Chronicon. ‡ Rolandini.

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Tyranny has too often driven the oppressed Italians to deeds of murderous revenge.

The Emperor appeared in the North 'mild as a lamb;' he gave out that he was ready to obey the Church and restore peace to the world.* The death of the Landgrave Henry had just taken place, and the Pope's first scheme had thus been defeated. But there was no room for reconciliation. Innocent had already sent a fresh Legate into Germany, to set up another candidate for the Empire; the Lombard Guelfs were enjoined to hold out a little longer. The Pope thanked the Lord of Faucigny for his proffered aid. This seemed more necessary than ever; Frederick was talking of crossing the Alps, seizing the Pope's person, and then marching on to Germany. He had even fixed the 24th of June for a Diet to be held in that country. Wishing to strengthen his party by new ties, he gave one of his many daughters to the Lord of Carretto. He authorized Walter of Ocra, who had now become Archbishop of Capua, to arrange a match between young Manfred and the daughter of the Count of Savoy. The Castle of Rivoli was restored to that noble, who threatened otherwise to close the passes of the Alps. The Count of Vienne, still further to the West, promised his support. Frederick went on to Pavia and Turin, with stores of treasure and troops of knights. He urged the Count of St. Pol to meet him. A rumour was spread that King Louis himself was abetting the Imperial march upon Lyons.†

If such was the real belief of the Ghibellines, they found themselves grievously mistaken. The Pope

* Ann. Genuenses. † Chronicon. Ann. Genuenses.

cried aloud for aid; it was time, indeed, since the Emperor was appointing Chambery as the trysting-place of armed enemies. These wiles were exposed by a Papal circular; Frederick could not be a truly humble penitent, as he professed, since he was approaching in arms; he had never requested the Church to consider his case; he had enacted a fresh detestable law against her interests. The French Prelates were called upon for help; the two brothers who presided over Lyons and Canterbury were at hand to guard the Roman Court. More powerful champions took the field. St. Louis and his three brethren were ready to fly to Innocent's rescue; even Queen Blanche offered to join the army of relief. The Pope returned thanks in his most flowery style to the King who had shone out above all other Kings, yet at the same time Innocent expressed his wish that no expedition from Paris to Lyons should be undertaken. He probably dreaded the angry remonstrances which Louis would be sure to make, if Frederick's proposals were altogether spurned. Besides, the Pope had a better card in his hand, which he now played.

Of all the cities in Northern Italy, none had been more loyal to the Empire than Parma, in spite of her triple connexion with Innocent.* This was a city dating her origin from Roman times, and afterwards honoured by becoming the seat of a Bishop. Her Duomo, in the Lombardic style, was now not two hundred years old; her Baptistery was still incomplete. Frederick the First had built his Imperial

* See Affo, Storia di Parma. For the siege see Salimbene, Chronicon, Chron. Parmense, and Frederick's letters.

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Palace within her walls close to a destroyed Amphitheatre or Arena; the Palace of the State was not begun until after Frederick the Second's Coronation. The river Parma, flowing from the South, ran through the city and was crossed by stone bridges, which led to the Western suburb called Capo di Ponte. This had been enclosed within the lately-enlarged circuit of the walls, and contained the house of the Templars. Several roads met at Parma, the possession of which was most important to Frederick. Little did he foresee the staggering blow now about to be dealt him from behind, while he was hastening on to Lyons.

There were about seventy Parmesan knights dwelling in exile at Piacenza; they were few in number, but of great skill in war, and eager to revenge themselves on the Emperor who had pulled down their houses and brought them to poverty. On the 16th of June they rode out of Piacenza, chose Ugo Sanvitale, one of the Pope's nephews, as their Captain, and boldly advanced. 'Let us be ready,' they cried, 'either to live or die bravely; let none draw back or tremble, for the Lord will be on our side!' The moment chosen was a happy one. Tavernieri, the Imperial Captain in Parma, had been celebrating his daughter's wedding; and his knights had been eating and drinking their fill, up to the instant when the alarm was given. Still, half-drunk as they were, they followed their Podesta, an Aretine, and began the battle with the exiles near the banks of the Taro. The Ghibellines were beaten, the Podesta and many others were slain, while Tavernieri fled wounded from the field. The Emperor's German soldiers, afraid for their own lives, shouted to the exiles; 'Go and take the city at your leisure; we

shall not hinder you!' The little band of Guelfs accordingly rode into Parma, making the sign of the cross and humbly requesting of the bystanders; 'For the love of God and His Mother, the patroness of this city, allow us to return; since we have been driven forth without cause, and we mean to do no harm to any one!' They were soon installed in their old quarters; the shopkeepers did not think it worth while to leave their business, while the Ghibelline nobles hastened out of the city to secure their own castles in the country. Gerard of Correggio, one of the exiles, was chosen Podesta and received the banners of Parma; from that Sunday morning she was lost to the Emperor.

King Enzio had been for the previous ten days on the other side of the Po, besieging Quinzano in the Brescian district. The instant he heard the news from Parma, he marched back with his troops to Cremona, all in gloomy silence; there was no singing on the march that night. At dawn he held a council of war which was protracted up to nine o'clock. Then after a hasty meal he set out with the whole strength of Cremona and her Carroccio; not one able-bodied man was left behind. Had he boldly entered Parma, he must have taken it, for it was at that time very open to an attack, and the burghers were utterly indifferent. But Enzio encamped at Bianconese about seven miles off, on the borders of a lake created by the overflowing of the river Taro; here he was reinforced by seven hundred knights from Pavia and Bergamo. He threw a garrison into San Donino, and awaited the Emperor, who was at Turin. This unwonted slackness of the King of Sardinia cost his father dear.

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A week passed, and then succours began to pour into Parma. The first to arrive was the Count of San Bonifazio with his Mantuan levies from the side of Guastalla. In token of gratitude he was quartered in the Emperor's own Palace, and undertook to guard the Eastern part of the town. Next day came three hundred knights from Piacenza, who were stationed near the river Parma; their duties were very light. On the third day Gregory of Montelongo rode in with Bernard Orlando Rosso and a thousand Milanese knights; these guarded the Southern part of the town, while the Parmesans themselves, under the eye of Gregory, encamped in the suburb Capo di Ponte, the post of honour. They were at work day and night entrenching themselves with ditches and palisades. The Marquess of Este brought up more allies from Ferrara, who were followed by the Guelf exiles from Reggio. Parma could reckon altogether upon three thousand knights, one third of whom she furnished herself. Besides these, three hundred crossbowmen came from Genoa, and as many more were sent by the Count of Lavagna.

On the last day of June, the Emperor hastening back from Piedmont reached Cremona, where he found six hundred knights under Eccelin. Two days later he marched with these to join Enzio's army, which crossed the Taro and took up its quarters at San Pancrazio, a village to the West of Parma. Six Guelfs, found in a Church tower and hanged, were the first victims of the war. This now entered a new phase. Hitherto local contests had raged between the different cities throughout Upper Italy at one and the same time. But in the summer of 1247, nearly all of the leaders of both Guelfs and Ghibellines met

face to face in the vale of the Po. Almost every Northern state sent its levies either to defend or attack Parma. The whole fate of the war seemed to hinge upon this one city. There was the Emperor, now more jealous and suspicious than ever, and prone to wreak his vengeance upon those of the Parmesans whom he had in his clutches. There was Enzio, burning to retrieve his late failure, and at this time much swayed by the counsels of Eccelin, the baleful fiend from the Trevisan March, whose niece was the destined bride of the young King. Lancia had occupied Fornovo at the head of the Cremonese. A fifth leader was Uberto Pallavicino, lean and weakly in appearance, and possessing but one eye (the other had been pecked out in his childhood by a cock), but at the same time renowned as the wisest Lombard ever known. He must indeed have been no common man, who a few years later contrived to master every state between Brescia and Alessandria, Milan included, a feat which Frederick himself could never compass.* Another famous Ghibelline present was Buoso of Duera the Cremonese chief, who long afterwards sold the pass to the Frenchman in an hour big with the fate of Italy, and who has therefore his place among the traitors in the thick-ribbed ice, not far from Ugolino. Boteri, the Podesta of Pavia, was a man of whom the Imperial party might well be proud, since he was the son of the Pope's favourite sister, and yet could not be seduced into rebellion by either the threats or the bribes of his uncle.† Tavernieri, another kinsman of Innocent's, followed the Emperor with two hundred more exiled

* Salimbene. Chronicon. † Salimbene.

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Parmesans. Frederick of Antioch headed the levies of his province and appeared for a short time in his father's camp, but was soon recalled to Tuscany; while Richard, another of the Imperial brood who bore the title of Count of Chieti, was commanding in Romagna. Manfred, though too young to be of much service, was in the camp before Parma, and his proposed betrothal was made the means of linking the Count of Savoy to the side of the Empire. Thaddeus of Sessa, who was also present, was especially hated by the Guelfs as the counsellor of the sternest measures; * while Peter de Vinea had just been rewarded with two new titles, becoming Logothete of Sicily and Protonotary of the Imperial Court. Hundreds of other Apulians were in arms, besides Burgundians, Greeks, Saracens, and Germans; almost every nation under heaven followed Frederick's standard. Ten thousand knights and a countless host of infantry and crossbowmen came flocking to the great Leaguer.

But inside Parma the Guelfs mustered strong. There was the gallant Count of San Bonifazio; the gentle Azzo of Este, who was beloved by both parties alike; the majority of the Pope's Parmesan kinsmen, men of renown; the Marquess Montelupo of Soragna, brave as a lion, with his three brethren, all of whom dwelt in Capo di Ponte; Gerard of Correggio, he of the Tusks; Obizzo Malaspina and his clan, some within the walls, others in the Lunigiana; Bernard Orlando Rosso, who when equipped for war looked like a great Prince, a very Charlemagne; who wielded his iron mace as though he had been the Devil him-

* M. Paris.

self; and whom the Emperor would gladly have flayed alive. But the main hope of the Guelfs lay in Gregory of Montelongo, a master of stratagems and tactics, the possessor of a book on the Art of War which taught him when to fight and when to break off. He had spurned many tempting offers from the Emperor, who had promised to make Gregory the greatest man in the Court next to himself, if the renowned tactician would only leave the side of the Church. Gregory was looked up to by his own party as a high cedar of Lebanon.* The bluff priest seems to stand before us, gouty and sensual, open-hearted and open-handed, the champion of the Cross, a match for any King or Emperor.† Well did he earn the Patriarchate of Aquileia, conferred upon him by Rome after Berthold's death four years later. Many other Guelf leaders of repute, who had been fighting hard for the last eight years, were encamped a few miles off to the North East, on the banks of the Po. But the Parmesans kept murmuring that no help came to them from without against the wiles of the Dragon. Montelongo, wishing to inspirit them, invited Salimbene and several knights to breakfast at the Bishop's Palace. During the meal, a man was heard thundering at the door, who came in covered with dust, and handed some letters out

* Salimbene.

† 'Morz nos a tolt lo debonnaire,
Lo pro Patriarcha Gregor.
Qui vena mais tal guidador,
Tan pro, tan franc, tan larc donaire.

Dieus non fes Rei, ni Emperaire,
Del Crois tal justiziador,
Tal guerrier, ni tal desfendaire
Dels sieus.'—*Monumenta Ecclesiæ Aquilejensis.*

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of his pouch to the Legate. These of course were read to the guests and promised speedy succour; the news was published all over the city, and no more murmuring was heard. The messenger was prudently got out of the room before the guests could have time to question him; his letters had been concocted in the Legate's own chamber the evening before. In truth, all correspondence with allies outside was next to impossible; the Emperor boasted of his having intercepted despatches from the besieged to their friends, whence it was plain that surrender was not far off.

Of all the many states that took part in the war, the Parmesans had to endure the most. It was not only that their families were rent by faction, as in the case of the Baratti, who claimed kin with the Countess Matilda and who could turn out forty knights in time of war.* The citizens knew that many of their brethren were serving under the Emperor's banner, and that others were in his prisons, chained hand and foot. Forty-five Parmesan knights, who had been garrisoning Modena at the outbreak of the revolt, had been at once seized. Sixty more were captured in a battle fought a few weeks later by Enzio, who faced about and routed his pursuers, when on his march to check the inroads of the Bolognese. All these knights he brought back to his father's camp on the 16th of July, as well as the Parmesan youths who had been studying at Modena; the prisoners were robbed of their horses, arms, books, and all their goods; their lives were as yet spared. Of the outlying towns,

* Salimbene.

Colorno alone remained true to its mistress Parma. Pontremoli, with its strong Castle, was now used as the Imperial treasury, and the inhabitants besought Enzio to reward their love for him by bestowing Grondola upon them, which they forthwith razed to the ground; its betrayers were beheaded by the angry Parmesans, the former owners. The King, having cleared the way to Sarzana, returned to the Imperial camp. In August, he and Eccelin were detached to Brescello, as the Mantuans and Ferrarese had already sailed up the Po and burnt Casal Maggiore, which belonged to loyal Cremona. Archers and crossbowmen were sent out both from Parma and from the enemy's camp, who ravaged and plundered the country around for miles. Such times had never before been known. It was found impossible even to till the ground, unless close to the walls of the cities, under the eyes of armed sentinels who could sally forth in a moment to the husbandman's rescue. Robbers swarmed, more cruel than demons; they would carry off men of substance and hold them to ransom. They would torture a sturdy captive by drawing his teeth, hanging him up by his hands or feet, or ramming toads into his mouth. A traveller on the road would rather see a Devil than a man coming towards him. Beasts and birds multiplied beyond all bounds. The wolves could find no more lambs to eat, since the farms were all burnt down. The starving packs were heard howling around the walls of the cities, which they would enter by night, to devour the men asleep in porticoes or waggons. The brutes would even burrow through the walls of houses and seize children

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in the cradles. The foxes would scramble up the roofs of convents after poultry. 'No one,' says Salimbene, 'who has not seen what I saw, can believe the horrors of that time, perpetrated by man and beast.' The district around Parma, from Cremona on one side to Modena on the other, was the especial theatre of these horrors.

Owing to the system of ravages, provisions soon became dear in Parma, although the Emperor was never able to blockade more than its Western side. Bread was made out of very strange substances; roots and grass were eaten, and a dozen eggs could not be had under an Augustal. Many of the poor stole out of the gates, unable to bear starvation. The noble ladies, hearing of Frederick's threat that he would sow the foundations of their city with salt, entreated the help of the Virgin, their national Protectress. To her they dedicated a silver model of Parma, with all the chief buildings properly moulded. 'The Mother,' cries our friar, 'asked her Son; the Son listened to his Mother, to whom he could refuse nothing.' But it was many months before Parma could be saved. The war was disgraced by butcheries in cold blood. One day the Emperor beheaded two knights and two plebeians, taken from his prisons; two more were put to death on the morrow; the townsmen dared not run out to carry off the corpses. After fourteen men had thus perished in the sight of their friends, near the bridge of Donna Egidia, the Pavians begged Frederick to spare the rest of the captive Parmesans, no fewer than a thousand of whom were guarded by his Saracens and Apulians; the request, a rare instance of generosity in that age of factions, was granted. But many prisoners died in

their foul dungeons, and their parents thought it a happy release.

It was not only rebels who were put to death; the Emperor's wrath was sometimes vented upon his allies, even while they were in arms in his behalf. Many knights from the Anconitan March, his own countrymen, were kept in free custody at Cremona. One day orders came to five of their number, as they were washing their hands before supper, that they must instantly ride to the Imperial quarters. They set out, and on passing the gibbet beyond the walls of Cremona, they were seized and hanged; the Emperor had suspected them of treachery. The wolves leapt up at their corpses, and could scarcely be driven away by the Minorites, who came to bury the victims. This took place at the beginning of the siege; the consequence was that several of the men from the March deserted the Imperial camp and took refuge in Parma. Two Cremonese, a knight and a priest, who were also suspected, underwent torture by fire and water. One of the staunchest partizans of the Empire was Gerard of Canale, a Parmesan knight. But it was remarked that his tower in Parma had not been pulled down, like those of the other Ghibellines, for the purpose of repairing the walls of the besieged. 'Lord Gerard,' Frederick said with a smile, 'the Parmesans are very fond of us, since they have hitherto razed neither your tower, nor my Palace in the Arena, though others of our party have not been spared.' The knight staid at one of his farms, quite unconscious of danger. He was visited in the autumn by Salimbene, who had left his native Parma about this time, taking the road to Lyons. Gerard boasted of having been

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very helpful to his besieged countrymen. 'Either serve in the Emperor's camp,' so the wiser friar advised, 'or else take your post among the Parmesans, and do not, as Scripture says, halt between the two parties.' Gerard would not heed the friendly warning; he was soon afterwards seized, sent into Apulia, and drowned with a millstone round his neck. The last five years of the Emperor's life are indeed a mournful spectacle; his temper had been soured by the sentence at Lyons and by the Apulian conspiracy; thenceforward he suspected everybody. In despair he quoted the text, 'All my inward friends abhorred me, and they whom I loved are turned against me.'* He had yet other friends to lose, both by the sword and by fouler means.

No Ghibelline dared to enter Parma. Some were found, who had made their way in, concealed in waggons of hay and straw; these were put to the torture, acknowledged their guilt, and were then burnt alive. Even women, who had volunteered to act as spies for the besiegers, underwent this doom. It is hard to say which side perpetrated the worst barbarities. But the object of the Guelfs was gained; Frederick could learn nothing of what was going on within the walls, even when a Parmesan noble fell by the hand of an equal, and when a most severe penalty was meted out to the culprit. The watch kept at Capo di Ponte was especially strict; day and night the sentries were on the alert. They had in their hands a few captives of the Imperial party, who besought Frederick to allow an exchange of prisoners. 'The State of Parma,' so ran

* Salimbene.

the suppliant letter, 'in order to exact revenge for the men taken in battle by the Marquess, has shut us up like hogs in a den below the Palace, as though we had been filthy rubbish. Some of us are able to ransom ourselves, others are needy men torn from our homes. The State believes that her own captive nobles will be benefitted by the sufferings undergone by us, who are of low rank and few in number, which is like balancing elephants against ants. Our tormentors have denied us meat, drink, and light; some of us have died, the rest can barely be recognized as men. Send redemption to your servants; give up the faithless in exchange for the loyal!' Frederick declined this proposal, assuring his imprisoned friends that he did not believe them capable of preferring their own particular interests to the common weal. Besides, the beleaguered city must speedily surrender.

Meanwhile Innocent was not unmindful of his Parmesan kinsmen and allies, who had made so timely a diversion. Another Legate seemed to be wanted in Lombardy, and the Cardinal chosen for this post was Octavian, one of the Ubaldini of Mugello, who possessed vast fiefs in the country between Florence and Bologna. Some declared that he was a natural son of the late Pope Gregory; Octavian himself bequeathed to posterity Italian poems on love and begat a daughter, who, although a nun, made love to Salimbene. The Cardinal was a man of great cunning; he would resort to trickery in order to create a belief in his influence at the Papal Court. In fact, he named the next Pope, although he himself would have been deposed from his rank for Ghibellinism, had Innocent's life been

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prolonged. Octavian kept a good table, and often invited humble friars to preside over it.* He was known as The Cardinal, to distinguish him from the rest of his brethren, whom he threw into the shade. 'If I have a soul, I have lost it a thousand times for the Ghibellines,' was a speech attributed to this free-thinker in a red hat, for which Dante does not spare him in the nether world.†

Octavian, though more than once suspected of lukewarmness, was often of real service to the Papal party, finding it necessary to keep up his character. In this year, he did his best to lead an army of relief from Lyons to Parma. But the Count of Savoy stopped the Cardinal at the foot of the Alps and delayed him for almost three months; at length Octavian, having lost all his money, crossed the mountains by rough paths and arrived in Lombardy with a very scanty following.‡ His name was in bad repute in Northern Italy, where he commanded for at least five years. One day as he was taking part in a solemn procession, a buffoon bawled out, 'Room for the man who has betrayed the Roman Court, and has often tricked the Church!' Octavian whispered to a servant to go and stop the fellow's mouth with money; and the buffoon was soon heard shouting that there was no better Cardinal in the Court than Octavian, who was really worthy of the Papacy.§ The new Legate was much assisted by a Milanese priest named Otho Visconti. This man, whose life spanned almost the whole of the Thirteenth Century, became the next Archbishop of

* Salimbene. See the Cardinal's verses in 'Poeti del primo Secolo.'

† Benvenuto of Imola. ‡ De Curbio. § Salimbene.

Milan, and was the founder of a Ducal line which ruled Lombardy for almost two hundred years.

Octavian led from the West the forces of Milan, Vercelli, Novara, and Crema. At Mantua he was joined by the levies of Eastern Italy under the Marquess of Este, Alberic of Romano, and Biaquin of Camino, together with the knights of Brescia, Bologna, Mantua, and Ferrara. In October this army of relief was confronted at Guastalla by Enzio and Eccelin, who had thrown a bridge across the Po higher up to keep open their communications with Cremona. The bridge, towards the end of October, was mastered by the ships of Mantua and Ferrara, and the Guelfs were thus enabled to bring provisions into Colorno. A quantity of salt, wheat, and barley was thence sent on to Parma. The relief came in good time; deaths from hunger were becoming numerous; four corpses and more were often buried at the same time in one church. The survivors were now inspired with courage to make a sally by night; they pulled up the sluices and flooded the camp of Enzio, while he was besieging Colorno; the King lost all his waggons and withdrew from the siege in the morning. In December the armies of Octavian and Eccelin alike dispersed and marched away to their homes.

Thus stood matters to the North and East of Parma; in the South and West the war was going against the Emperor. The men of Lunigiana and Garfagnana threw his Vicar into prison. The rebellious Marquess of Montferrat all but captured Turin. The Malaspinas and the Counts of Lavagna were up in arms, and Genoa was recovering many of her small towns. One of the Imperial galleys ran ashore

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on her coasts, and the crew were slain as they fled to the mountains. Another galley, on its voyage from the Kingdom, was seized by the men of Porto Venere, who captured two hundred good soldiers from Naples, and sent them to a Genoese prison. Frederick ordered Pallavicino to threaten Genoa, and feared that her galleys would make a descent upon Sicily; her armaments were in reality bespoken for the service of St. Louis, who was now almost ready to embark for the East.* Innocent in vain sent Friar John of Piano Carpo, the Eastern traveller, to dissuade the King from setting out at this perilous time, when the Emperor was raging like a bear robbed of her whelps. 'Leave the case of Frederick to God's judgment,' was the answer of Louis.†

Raising our eyes above the angry hosts striving for the mastery in the vale of the Po, we catch a glimpse of the grey frock of Brother Salimbene, on his way across the Alps late in October. He reached Lyons on All Saint's day; he was instantly sent for and brought into the Pope's chamber; for not a single letter or messenger from Parma had been received for weeks up to this time, a fact which speaks highly for the watchfulness of the Ghibelline scouts. Innocent, courteous and liberal as ever, conferred many favours on the poor friar, absolved him from his sins, gave him the office of preacher, listened to all his petitions, and enrolled his mother in the Order of St. Clara. Salimbene, fresh from the seat of war, was regarded at Lyons as an oracle. One day he, a plain deacon only twenty-five years old, was invited to place himself between the Patri-

* Barth. Scriba. † Salimbene.

arch of Constantinople and Cardinal William Fiesco, the Pope's nephew. The great question of the day was the mission of Octavian to succour Parma. All the crowd in the room were hanging on the friar's words, each one leaning over the shoulder of the man before him; it was well known how tremendous the stake was.* Cardinal William asked what the Parmesans were saying about the Legate Octavian. 'They say that he will be a traitor to Parma, just as he was to Faenza.' 'Ah God,' cried the Cardinal, 'it must not be believed!' Salimbene coolly answered, 'Whether it must be believed or not, I cannot tell; but so the Parmesans say.' 'Well, well,' was the only rejoinder the Cardinal could make. The bystanders whispered to each other that in all their lives they had never seen such a reckless outspoken friar as Salimbene, who was not in the least overawed by the grand company in which he found himself. He did not stay long at Lyons, but went Northwards, to taste the capital wine of Auxerre and to enjoy the sights of Paris.

The first of October witnessed a decisive move on the Emperor's part. He had already dug some trenches around his encampment and filled them with water from the Taro in his rear; but he afterwards shifted his camp to the field which is now known by the name of Gloria, not a mile from Parma, near the Naviglio canal. He began to mark out his new foundation when Aries, the sign of Mars, was in the ascendant; this is adverse to Libra,

* Salimbene says of Parma; 'Ibi dependebat totum negotium Romanæ Ecclesiæ et omnium clericorum, sicut in aliquo duello, cum ex quâlibet parte victoria expectatur.'

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which is the sign of Venus, the planet of Parma. 'I think,' Rolandini writes, 'that the Emperor did not mark that Cancer was fourth from the ascendant; a city begun under such an ascendant must play the crab.' This was the judgment of the Paduan after the event. The new city was called Victoria; it lay between the road to Collecchio and that to San Pancrazio; its church was dedicated to St. Victor, and the coins which now issued from the Imperial mint were called Victorines. Houses, ramparts, and trenches with drawbridges were constructed; and mills were built on the canal close by. The supplies of water were cut off from Parma; the besieged had to grind their corn in mills worked by horses, now that their river was drained off. The materials for Victoria were brought from the houses destroyed everywhere throughout the Parmesan Bishoprick between the Po and the Appenines; every day the ravagers went forth, while the Emperor's knights remained under arms from morning till evening, ready to check any reprisals. The Cremonese Carroccio, called Berta, was kept in the new city. Some of the loyal states were called upon to furnish three months' pay for the troops. Five hundred knights from Germany, Apulia, and Tuscany, four hundred knights and two thousand infantry from Cremona, two hundred Parmesan Ghibellines, and the Saracen levies formed the regular garrison; while Eccelin's soldiers, and the forces of Pavia, Bergamo, Tortona, and Alessandria went home for the winter.

The stormy year 1247 at length came to an end; its close was signalized by an exploit of Frederick's, who on a Saturday morning at daybreak stole up to one of the gates of Parma, and grappled its pali-

sades with huge iron claws. He had only time to demolish a few, for the citizens rushed to the walls, headed by the Count of San Bonifazio, who was on duty that night. The crossbowmen on the top of the gate poured down a murderous volley and slaughtered many of the Ghibellines. Something similar took place early in the next year; Frederick rode up to one of the bridges over the river Parma, shouting, 'John, John.' But he was unable to greet his confederate, since the besieged, men and women alike, came hastening up to the point of danger; they afterwards defended their bridges with iron chains. About this time the Emperor's elephant died at Cremona; its bones were buried, in the hope that they would turn into ivory. The death of this animal might seem a bad omen, but the Ghibelline cause was never more prosperous than now. Frederick was able in one despatch to boast of three different victories won by the members of his family. His grandson and namesake, the offspring of the rebellious Henry, had driven the ungrateful Marquess of Montferrat out of Turin with the loss of two hundred men. Frederick of Antioch had chased the Guelfs from Florence, though they had called in the traitorous Bolognese.* But the chief triumph was that of Enzio, who, after being reinforced by the Ferrarese exiles, had demolished the Mantuan bridge over the Po. Besides those of the enemy slain or drowned on this occasion, three hundred prisoners had been made; the Emperor ordered them to be hung up for an example on either bank of the river. A hundred ships were

* This is the only passage where Frederick mentions the word Guelf as a party name.

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left in the hands of the conquerors, who now at length held the command of the Po. In February, King Enzio made another bridge over it, which debarred the enemy from bringing provisions to Colorno; half of the Cremonese at Victoria were detached to help in this work. 'They think it a shame,' so the Emperor wrote, 'if they do not have a share in all our undertakings.' Every chance of relief for Parma seemed now at an end; the garrison was starving and was lessened by fifteen hundred men sent away to Colorno; salt was amazingly dear, and the siege had lasted seven months and more. But a city never knows its own resources until it is goaded to despair. It was very early in the morning of the famous eighteenth of February; the Emperor, making sure of success, had ridden across the Taro with some of his knights on a hunting excursion. But carelessness, as the Chronicler of his party remarks, is the mother of mischief. That same hour the Milanese and Placentines made a sally towards the South-West and thus drew off Lancia. Montelongo, warned by a a Milanese mercenary, seized the right moment and got his men under arms. The whole of the people of Parma, old men, women, children, and all, commended themselves to the Saviour and went forth under the standard of the Virgin; six hundred Mantuan infantry joined in the sally from the Western gate. Victoria was at this time without her usual garrison, and could ill resist the onset of the besieged, who were maddened by hunger. The Germans, the Apulians, and the Saracen dogs were hewn down, but some mercy was shown to the Lombard Ghibellines.* Three thousand of these were made

* Rolandini.

prisoners, and all the Guelf captives who had long been rotting in the Imperial dungeons were set free. Lancia was badly wounded; Thaddeus of Sessa, who had at first likened the Parmesans to rats sneaking out of their holes, was torn limb from limb; Frederick's chamberlains were slaughtered. Victoria, a city mainly built of wood, was then fired, and the work of five months was soon utterly destroyed. The Emperor saw the flames from afar; he mounted his war horse Dragon and galloped back to his men, but was himself swept down the tide of flight. The Legate and Podesta led the pursuit, and chased the Ghibelline mob along the Western road for two miles beyond the Taro. They took Collecchio, where many fugitives had sought refuge, on that same day, and Fornovo on the morrow.

Never was victory more complete. All Frederick's treasures became the prey of the conquerors. The huge Crown of the Empire, made of gold and precious stones and decked with images, so large that it would have covered the wearer's head and face but for some internal contrivance, fell into the hands of a Parmesan nicknamed Shortstep from his small size. He bore his prize along in triumph, and sold it to the State for a house and two hundred pounds. The Crown was to be seen in the Sacristy of the Cathedral for sixty years, until it was given up to Henry of Luxemburg. Frederick's store of relics and images was borne off and kept in the same place as the Crown, to the honour of the Virgin, the Judith of the siege, who had overthrown the host of the modern Nebuchadnezzar. The Imperial tents and warlike equipage were given to Gregory of Montelongo. Wonderful to say, there

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was no quarrelling over the booty; everything that a man could seize was divided between himself and the State. The poor thus made much money. The gold and silver plate, the jewels, pearls, robes of silk and purple were sold at a very low rate to the merchants who now flocked to Parma from every quarter. Much treasure remained buried in the ground where Victoria had once stood. So united were the people, that there was no wrangling about the recovered soil, when they came to mark out the sites of their old vineyards, which had been cut down to make way for Frederick's buildings.

The Carroccio of Cremona was dragged into Parma and placed in the Baptistery. The Milanese and Mantuans, the fiercest enemies of Cremona, tore away the ornaments of Berta to keep as relics. But the wheels and boards remained, while the mast which bore the flag stood against the Baptistery wall.* Bitter was the sorrow of the Cremonese, when Frederick rode into their city on the evening of that shameful day. They were smarting under the loss of their best men, and one of the angry burghers cried, 'You too, Emperor, ought to have your head struck off, since you left Victoria for those accursed sports of yours!' Frederick bore the reproach in silence, knowing it to be just.† His failure was cast in his teeth by jesters, who knew that he would always bear a good deal from them. He patted the hump of one of these buffoons and asked, 'When is this casket to be opened?' 'That will not be easy,' said the other, 'since I lost the key at Victoria.' Eccelin, as it was remarked,

* Salimbene. † Imago Mundi.

would at once have sent the impudent wag to the gibbet, or blinded him; but Frederick only groaned and uttered a few words of self-reproach.*

The joy of the Guelfs at their unexpected victory found vent in many a ballad. Full justice was done to Parma; she was rightly named, since she was indeed the shield of the Church, and she might now moreover call herself Palma. Loud were the peals of triumph over the beaten Emperor, who had been forsaken by his familiar spirits. He had fled before the women of Parma and had left behind him the pretty darlings of his harem unable to keep up with him; the loss of these girls had gone nearer to his heart than the loss of his soldiers and treasures.† His astrologers and wizards, Beelzebub and Ashtaroth, had all failed him. His Crown, made out of the spoils of the Churches, his belt, and his seals had become the trophies of his conquerors. Let Brescia rejoice over the foe whom she had herself once baffled; let Milan, Genoa, Piacenza, Bologna, Mantua, Venice, and Ancona, break forth into joy! Let the Marquesses of Malaspina and Este, with the blessed Count of San Bonifazio, take up the chorus! Woe to Pavia, the modern Babylon; to Pisa, the handmaid of Pilate; to Cremona, plunged in sorrow at the loss of her Carroccio!‡ Pope Innocent himself contributed a note to the general song of triumph:

> Victoria, vanquished thou dost lie,
> That Christ his name may glorify!§

* Salimbene.

† It is strange that no allusion to this curious fact occurs in any Chronicler.

‡ See the ballads in Albert von Beham.

§ Ad laudem Christi, Victoria, victa fuisti. M. Paris.

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Well might the Guelfs, who had fought on with unflinching courage through the dismal spring of 1238 and the gloomy summer of 1241, shout over this sudden turn of fortune. It cheered the heart of many an exile from Italy. When Salimbene was lying ill in the infirmary of his Order at Sens, the friars burst in with a copy of the despatch sent to Lyons by the victorious Parmesans, and were anxious to know the use of the Carroccio, which figured so prominently in the account. They were astonished when their foreign brother told them that the loss of this chariot was as foul a disgrace to any Lombard city, as the loss of the Oriflamme would be to France. The Emperor himself writhed under the shame. He cautioned his Sicilian officials against the lies that were sure to be told about his defeat, and sent home what he called the bare investigation of the truth.* He warned his subjects not to obey any letters adorned with the Golden Bull or the seal of the Kingdom, since these had been lost at Victoria. The enemy had been helped by traitorous countrymen of theirs in the Imperial camp. A few men of no mark had fallen; the Emperor ascribed his own escape to the favour of his Redeemer. A special letter was meant to console one Tordo of Messina for the death of his son; the brave youth had been slain while defending the Treasury, though he might have fled, had he chosen. His Lord had mourned for him long before his father could have heard the sad news. Frederick afterwards dispensed with one of his own laws in favour of the

* Salubriter cum totâ gente nostrâ eodem die Martis Cremonam advenimus. The disaster is skilfully softened down.

Tordo family. He directed that his faithful followers, who had lost their steeds and houses at Victoria, should have their damages repaid by the different states. In compliance with this command, Siena rewarded various knights belonging to her, who had served in the late campaign.

The downfall of Victoria was effected on a Tuesday; on the following Saturday Montelongo led forth the Parmesans to Brescello, in hopes of destroying the bridge thrown across the Po by the Ghibellines. The Mantuans and Ferrarese, with eighty-seven ships, were ready to co-operate. Just as they were nearing the bridge, a report was spread that the Emperor was about to fall upon them; the men of the three allied states forthwith fled away, leaving their ships in the hands of the Cremonese. A week later Frederick did in reality appear, followed by Enzio, Lancia, and the men of Bergamo, Pavia, and Cremona; Shortstep and his fellows were not allowed a long enjoyment of their triumph over the great Emperor of the Romans ever August. The Ghibellines now assailed the castles to the South of Parma, and Lancia surprised Bernard Orlando Rosso in a skirmish near Collecchio. This doughty brother-in-law of the Pope was cut down and slain; whereupon the revengeful Parmesans beheaded four of the Ghibelline knights taken at Victoria. On the morrow Frederick once more encamped upon the site of his destroyed city; after ravaging all the country round, and recovering much treasure, he dismissed his army. At the same time he received reinforcements from Tuscany.* He

* Chronicon.

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rejoiced over the death of Rosso, 'that notorious and ancient traitor to us, the head and tail of the adverse faction.' The Emperor could boast of having slain a hundred Parmesans in the late skirmish, besides making sixty of their best men prisoners.

The Pope, who must have been stung by the loss of Rosso, bade the Brescians take up arms for the freedom of the Church and Italy; the tyrant, driven to despair, was planning fresh onslaughts. The work of so many years must not be undone through sluggishness; the conqueror who stripped off the belt of knighthood was often overcome by the defeated enemy. Parma must be defended at any cost; in her lay the chief hope of rousing the Italians. She must not be starved out through Frederick's bridging over the Po, or the last state of the whole land would be worse than the first. Piacenza undertook to succour the devoted city. Innocent exhorted Genoa to banish all her Ghibellines and confiscate their goods; he bade Cardinal Octavian excommunicate by name the sons and grandsons of the Emperor, and all nobles, clergymen, or states, who should send envoys to the Imperial Court. None of the rites of the Church were to be granted to Frederick's followers, save the baptism of infants and the penance of the dying. A Crusade, with the privileges usually confined to Palestine, was to be preached against Eccelin, that limb of the Devil and vessel of iniquity, who had damnably given himself up to the service of the persecutor of the Church. The Pope was kindling the war against Frederick in Germany and Palestine as well as in Italy. The two parties seemed now resolved not to observe the slightest measure of humanity towards

each other. The rites of the Church were the laughing-stock of the Ghibellines. For instance, the King of Sardinia a few months later captured many Guelfs in the Castle of Arola; they wished to be shriven before being hung, according to their sentence, but Guido of Sesso, the most powerful Ghibelline in Reggio, laughed at them, saying; 'No need for you saints to confess, since you are on the side of the Church; you will all go straight to Paradise.' Thus they died unshriven. Another time this tyrant marched into a Franciscan Convent, assembled the brethren in the Chapter House, and asked what was the native place of each man; a notary took down all the names, and then Guido said to them; 'Go your way and never dare to appear in this city again.' A few only were allowed to remain for the purpose of taking care of the buildings, and even these favoured few were always being reviled in the streets as traitors to the Empire. No Dominican or Franciscan could pass through Modena, Reggio, or Cremona; long imprisonment, or perhaps death, might be the doom of a Brother in those godless cities. Some Preaching friars were brought before the Modenese magistracy and were charged with coining, because the iron instruments used in stamping the Host were found upon them. The Ghibellines were very ready to banish even their own kinsmen, if these were friars. One of the worst persecutors was Julian of Sesso, an old lawyer of base birth, who acted as Justiciary for King Enzio and hanged many Guelfs. 'See,' he cried, 'how we handle these robbers!' Though fond of fat capons, he declared that he would rather eat his shoe than live in peace with the Church party. This limb of the Devil was afterwards

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struck with paralysis; his eye was almost projected from its socket; and his body emitted so foul a stench, that no one but his lovely German mistress would approach him. He was buried in a ditch, having left the world without confession, without communion, and without satisfaction, as the friars exultingly remarked; at a time when the wind had shifted and the friends of the Church had begun to prosper.* In Frederick's lifetime the highest Prelates were the butt of the Ghibellines. Thus Marcellino, the Bishop of Arezzo, had long before been driven from his See by the Imperial party, and had afterwards stood at the head of the Guelfs in the Anconitan March. Late in 1247, he was defeated in a bloody battle at Osimo by Robert of Castiglione, a chief styled the enemy of God and the Church, who led the men of Macerata, Jesi, and Sinigaglia, besides the Germans and Saracens. Four thousand of the Guelfs were slain; and Frederick's Captain returned to Macerata with a rich prize, the Carroccio of Ancona, adorned with the flag given to that city by the Emperor Manuel; the Bishop, many other prisoners, and all the banners of the Guelf states followed in the conqueror's train.† For three months and more Marcellino lay in prison, until the order for his execution was given by Frederick, three days before the destruction of Victoria. The Bishop was offered a free pardon if he would publicly excommunicate the Pope and Cardinals; he replied by an anathema against the Emperor, the son and pupil of Satan. He took the sacrament, and began to chant the Te Deum amid a crowd of weeping women and children.

* Salimbene. † Compagnone, La Reggia Picena.

The Saracens bound him hand and foot, strapping his head under the tail of the horse that was to drag him along as though he had been a thief or a murderer; men said that the animal would not stir, until the Bishop had given it leave, upon finishing his prayers. He acknowledged to the Minorite friars that he had still a hankering after life, the effect of human weakness; still he went manfully to the gibbet. His Franciscan friends stole his body, but it was snatched from the tomb, trailed through the mud, and hung up again to await the new Pilate's order for its removal. The aged Cardinal Regnier sent an account of this tragedy into distant countries, together with complaints against the Saracens, who had broken and dragged about holy images at the tail of an ass. Why did Crusaders sail to Palestine while wretches such as these were left in Italy? The Sultans of Egypt and the Greek schismatics had shown themselves more merciful to the Church than the impious Frederick had done; he had drowned the Bishop of Gerace in a hot bath, and had sent a ruffian from Sicily to murder the old Bishop of Cefalu at the Lateran.

Rejoicing at the news from Parma, Innocent now determined on the conquest of Romagna. Cardinal Octavian came to Bologna, the base of the Guelf operations, and assailed Modena early in May. In the next month he turned his arms eastwards, and by August he had reduced Imola, Faenza, Forli, Cesena, Rimini, and many other towns. Archbishop Theodoric found himself able to return to Ravenna with all the Guelf exiles. The conquest had been made easy by the treachery of Thomas of Matera, Frederick's Vicar. Cardinal Regnier was equally

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successful further to the South, in the Vale of Spoleto.* He made himself master of Jesi in February. This little town, which had raised a marble arch, decked with statues, in honour of its Imperial son, was constrained to find 3,200 pounds for the pay of the Papal troops.† William, the King of the priests, though at this time still kept before the walls of Aix-la-Chapelle, sent one of the Suppino family into Italy as Vicar of the Empire, with the title of Count of Romagna. The Milanese were enjoined to obey this chief, who would soon be followed by his young master. Not very long afterwards, King William made a grant to Alberic da Romano of all the honours and estates enjoyed by Eccelin, whom the Church had placed under her ban as a heretic. This grant was issued from Gelnhausen, Barbarossa's own seat.‡

But however successful the Pretender might be in Germany, Barbarossa's grandson was still able to make his power felt far and wide throughout Italy. In June, the Emperor marched out at the head of his army, gathered from the customary cities and nations. He led his troops for the second time up to the gates of Parma, and did great damage to the crops and vineyards. He then withdrew to Cremona, burning on his way the Abbey of Columba and its granges, because it had refused to give him shelter.§ The Milanese and Placentines, who had come forth to meet him in the field, fled by night at his approach. Frederick had now resolved to carry his arms into the North West of Italy; but for this ex-

* Chronicon. Ghirardacci.
† Bréholles; Von Raumer.
‡ Raynaldus, for 1250.
§ Chronicon.

pedition more money was needed. Loyalists had come from the very furthest bounds of the Empire to have a share in his victory, which was almost sure; money was the one thing wanting, and that Sicily must furnish. The Bishop of Patti was therefore sent into the Kingdom to obtain fresh supplies; so useful a Prelate would not have been torn from the side of his master, had there not existed the greatest necessity for the step. The Southern Officials were sharply chidden for their sluggishness; the Emperor had barely funds for his own maintenance, much less for his conquests. One city alone had sent its contribution in advance; Frederick engaged that it should be no loser through its promptness in replenishing his Treasury, 'which that dreadful mishap suddenly snatched away.' Victoria was ever rankling in his mind.

Frederick's government of his Kingdom had been of the usual kind. His ministers had been careful to uphold the Sicilian clergy and monasteries in their rights. He had instructed the counsellors of young Prince Henry to exact strict accounts from the Officials, and to keep the registers properly, distinguishing each month. As to the monks and priests throughout the Empire and the Kingdom, they were forbidden to discontinue the singing of mass or the administration of the sacraments; fines and banishment awaited all the clergy who obeyed the Pope. They might not wander from city to city without leave from the magistrates; while at the same time protection was promised to all loyal priests. The Count of Caserta, the Imperial Vicar in Sicily, was ordered to meet King Louis, if the French host should happen to winter in that island. The

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Emperor, then at Asti, offered once more to join the Crusaders if the late sentence of the Church were only repealed.* But Innocent announced his firm and unbending resolve, never to make a truce while Frederick or any of the Suabian brood held the Empire, whatever men might think or say or presume. Louis set out from Paris and passed through Sens, where his angelic countenance enraptured Salimbene. The friar was equally edified with the devotions of Charles of Anjou, who knelt at the various shrines on the road to Lyons. Here Louis made one more attempt to obtain Frederick's pardon; but in vain. 'Holy Father, the ruin of the Holy Land will lie at your door,' cried the disappointed Crusader. He was somewhat soothed, upon Innocent's promising to stand by the French nation, in the event of its being assailed by the English King. Louis in sorrow left Lyons, after confessing his sins to the Pope; he withstood the temptation to attack Avignon and Marseilles, cities belonging to the Empire, though he underwent grievous provocation. Well might Matthew Paris, who recounts these events, exclaim, 'We, who read and ponder over the annals of history, never found such an instance of intense and inexorable hatred, as that which raged between the Pope and Frederick.' The two enemies put forth each a statement of the mediation attempted at Lyons by the French King. 'We allowed the former Emperor's case to be laid before us by his envoys,' wrote Innocent, 'but that was all; if aught to the contrary be published, let it be set down as a lie.' The Emperor uttered the following reproaches;

* Ann. Genuenses.

'We wished to overcome that old serpent by our forbearance, and to moderate the sternness which perhaps some of the godlike Roman Emperors, our predecessors, have displayed in similar cases. At the prayer of our beloved friend the King of the French, who was rejoicing once more to take in hand that business of peace of which men despaired, we sent our envoys with terms which he thought sufficient. But, thanks to that good Shepherd of the Church, we sought peace and found it not, we called it and it answered not. Henceforth we shall no longer seek it, until we ourselves have the power of granting it.'

It was in July that Frederick began his march into Piedmont, taking many hostages along with him to Casale, on their road to Savona and Sicily. He fell upon the lands of the traitorous Marquess of Montferrat, burning the castles and laying waste the fields. The Pope directed the Bishop of Turin to constrain Genoa and Milan to send knights and crossbowmen to help the champion of the Church. Early in October Frederick quitted Casale for Vercelli, after Lancia and the Pavians had been brought into the latter city by Peter Bicchieri, a kinsman probably of the deceased Cardinal Gualo. Here the Emperor was met by the two brethren who were Counts of Savoy and Flanders, by all the Piedmontese Counts and Marquesses, and by the ambassadors of many foreign Kings. These all joined in persuading the Marquess of Montferrat to return to his allegiance. Novara would have taken the same step, but for the watchfulness of Montelongo, who marched Westward with the Milanese, while in his rear Octavian moved up to Parma with the knights of

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Bologna.* Frederick made Vercelli his head-quarters for the three last months of the year. His great achievement at this time was a match between his son Manfred, then sixteen, and Beatrice the Countess of Saluces, daughter of the Count of Savoy. At least a dozen Imperial charters were bestowed upon Thomas, the second in age of this family, who had lately returned from Flanders to his native Alps. His family, consisting at this time of five brothers, was now securely established in Italy, as far as Frederick's influence could avail. Little did the Emperor foresee that what he was in vain striving to effect for his own line would one day be carried out to the profit of this house of Savoy, by statesmen wiser than Pallavicino and by soldiers more daring than Enzio.† Ivrea, Moncalieri, Turin, and the Canavese district were now acquired by Count Thomas, who was also made Vicar of the Empire as far as Pavia. If the yearly revenues of these lands should not amount to eleven thousand ounces of gold, the Imperial Treasury was bound to supply what was wanting; Thomas, on his side, undertook to keep a thousand armed men in the field in behalf of the Empire. The Marquess of Montferrat received various favours, and the Dauphin of Vienne was enriched by Frederick, who avowed in his charters that the Roman Prince ought to surpass other Kings in bounty as much as he did in riches and honours. The loyal city of Tortona was endowed with the right of coining money stamped with the Imperial

* Chronicon.

† Frederick's two chief bequests to mankind have been the Houses of Brunswick and Savoy, securely established by him; the main props of freedom in Europe.

name and effigy. Pisa and Lucca were rewarded with the Lunigiana and Garfagnana; these tracts had been before bestowed upon the King of Sardinia, to whom his father apologized, excusing the transfer on the ground of public interests. Some houses that had belonged to Vercellese traitors were bestowed upon Peter Bicchieri, who had brought over his state from the side of the Church. His conduct kindled the wrath of the Pope, who at this time wrote many letters on the affairs of Vercelli. He ordered the Abbots adhering to Frederick to be deposed, the debts owed by the Guelf burghers to be cancelled, and the wants of the impoverished Bishop, the successor of St. Eusebius, to be supplied by Montelongo. Innocent took equal care of the Bishop of Ploaghe in Sardinia, who had been driven from his diocese by King Enzio.* Exiles indeed abounded everywhere; there was at Genoa at this time a banished Corsican Prelate, highly accomplished in all clerical duties, who was refused a pittance by the stingy Archbishop.† Another exile, the Archbishop of Bari, seems to have been the chief adviser of the Papacy as to Sicilian affairs; he was rewarded with the grant of an Apulian Castle, which was now in the hands of one of Frederick's followers.

The ferment in the minds of men waxed hotter and hotter, as the wonderful events of the year developed themselves. Frederick had been struck down, but had risen again like Antæus. Let us glance at a clerical wrangle which took place in the autumn of 1248. The scene is laid in a cell of the

* See Innocent's letters at the end of the correspondence of Albert von Beham.

† Salimbene, who received priest's orders from this exile.

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Minorite Convent at Hyères; a few friars, one of whom is Salimbene, have come to hear the debate. The spokesman on one side is Brother Hugh of Bariol, a Franciscan of dark Provençal hue, one of the greatest clerks in the world, able to torture the events of the day into any shape so as to suit the prophecies of Abbot Joachim, never at a loss for an answer, with a voice like a trumpet, revered as a Paul or an Elisha, equally ready to thunder against the Pope and the Cardinals to their faces or to put a philosophic worldling to the blush before a whole Court. The friar can boast that he numbers Grosseteste, Adam de Marisco, and John of Parma among his bosom friends. His present opponent is Brother Peter of Apulia, the Dominican Reader at Naples, who is no Joachite (to use the cant term of the day), but has full confidence in his own powers.

Hugh. — 'Are you the man who has doubts as to Joachim's doctrine? Have you ever read Joachim?'

Peter. — 'I have read him, and that thoroughly.'

Hugh. — 'I believe you have read him just as a woman reads her Psalter; she does not remember at the end what she has read at the beginning; even so many read and understand not, either from their scorn or from their natural darkness. Now, what do you want to hear about Joachim?'

Peter. — 'I want you to prove to me from Isaiah, as Joachim teaches, that the life of the Emperor Frederick must end within seventy years, since he is still alive; also, that he cannot be slain, except by God; that is, by a natural death.'

Hugh. — 'With all my heart; but listen to me with patience, even as Joachim himself was patient.

As to the Emperor Frederick's life, that it must end as Isaiah says when speaking of the burden of Tyre,* pray remark that Joachim commenting on that passage understands the Roman Empire by the land of the Chaldees; Frederick himself by Ashur; Sicily by Tyre; the whole of Frederick's life by the days of the one King; the term of life, which Merlin foretold, by the seventy years. From a passage in the Thirty-first of Isaiah you learn that Frederick is to be slain by God alone. The whole of that last passage has already been fulfilled, especially at Parma, when he was routed; moreover, his Princes have often wished to slay him, but have been unable to carry out their intention.† You must believe the Scriptures; there is in them not only a literal, historical meaning, but also an allegorical, anagogical, tropological, moral, and mystical meaning.'

Peter.—'All very fine; but I want you to explain more clearly about Isaiah's seventy years and his days of one King.'

Hugh.—'Merlin the Englishman has foretold the truth about Frederick the First, Henry the Sixth, and Frederick the Second hitherto. Let us confine ourselves to four passages of Merlin, speaking of the present Emperor. First; *he shall fall in thirty-two years*, which may be taken of his reign since his Imperial coronation. Secondly; *he shall live in his prosperity for seventy-two years*; the truth of this will

* Isaiah xxiii. 15: in the English version, 'Tyre shall be forgotten seventy years, according to the days of one King.' Sicily in fact was ruled by Frederick's house for all but seventy-two years.

† The passage referred to must be the two last verses of Isaiah xxxi.

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be seen by those who may survive so long. Thirdly; *for fifty years and two he shall be treated well*; this time must be reckoned from the marriage of his parents up to the eighteenth year of his possessing the Empire. Fourthly; *in the eighteenth year from the time of his anointing, he shall hold the monarchy in the eyes of the envious.* This refers to his excommunication by Pope Gregory the Ninth. Now contradict me out of Scripture, if you can.'

Peter.—'It is wrong to quote Merlin, an unbeliever.'

Hugh.—'You lie, and I can prove it. Does the Church reject the prophecies of Balaam, or Elihu, or Caiaphas, or the Sibyl, or Merlin, or Joachim, or Methodius? Good things must not be scorned, even though they come from a bad teacher.' The upshot of the whole was, that the Preacher became content to leave his philosophy and to sit meekly at the feet of the victorious Minorite.

Early in January, 1249, Frederick, whom his contemporaries might well call the Wonder of the world, left Vercelli for Pavia. He granted to certain of the Pavian burghers the right of fishing in every river of Lombardy, reserving a stated quantity of their gains for himself and his successors, whenever the city might be honoured by an Imperial visit. He took special measures for the repair of one of its monasteries, a part of the revenues of which were exacted for his own behoof. From Pavia the Emperor rode on to Cremona. Here a most unexpected event took place. Peter de Vinea, who had been with the Court at Vercelli, was seized and thrown into prison. The Cremonese mob were thirsting for the blood of

the traitor; he was kept however for a worse doom, and was sent in chains by night to San Donino.*

Many a moral has been pointed by the wretchedness of those men who build on Princes' favours, but the fate of Peter is the most sudden and awful downfall of the kind on record. Two years before this time, he had climbed to a dizzy height seldom reached by a subject. In April, 1247, he had become Protonotary and Logothete of the Kingdom, with full power over the revenues and privileges of the clergy. A strange policy was at that time ripening; the Emperor, despairing of peace with the Papacy, was resolving to place himself at the head of the world, in spiritual as well as in temporal matters. To him were applied the prophecies of the Old Testament, hitherto referred to Christ; all the virtues, so said flatterers, were to be found in the holy Frederick. He was the Vicar of God established on earth, the true and visible image of Heavenly Wisdom.† Even the Archbishop of Capua, when prevented by bad roads from appearing at Court, was not ashamed thus to write of a fellow mortal; 'If the cup of this journey may not pass from me, I am ready to cast myself not only into the mud, but into the sea, that I may walk on the waters towards the Lord. And thou, Peter, when thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren.' For De Vinea was looked up to by his party as the future Vicar of the new Messiah. Most daring does the following letter seem, addressed to the hesitating minister by an admiring counsellor;

* Chronicon.

† The idea was carried out by Henry VIII. and Cromwell. They too hanged friars for treason, while they burnt English Paterines for heresy, thus following in Frederick's steps.

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'Do not hide your light under a bushel; our Lord says unto you; "Peter, you love me; feed my sheep." He has set you up in opposition to that false Vicar of Christ who is abusing the power of the Keys. Do not shrink from the burden because you are not used to it; your honesty, your moderation, your strength recommend you for it; our Lord will take no denial; you must answer, "Lord, thou knowest that I love thee. Thy will be done."'

Peter had no lack of flatterers, who treated his name as one of good augury. He was the Rock on which the Imperial Church was founded, on which the soul of Augustus reposed when supping with his disciples. He was the doorkeeper of the Empire, who alone could shut and open. He knew the mystery of the Book with the seven seals. That other Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, had thrice denied his Master; but the Capuan, unlike the Galilean, would not deny his Lord even once.* These blasphemous flatteries were now for ever to be dropped, at least so far as De Vinea was concerned. What was the crime laid to his charge? This is a question which has been agitated by many writers, and about which the best judges are not agreed. One chronicler talks of foul play on the part of the Minister at the Council of Lyons; another account refers his ruin to an intrigue with his master's paramour; a third writer avers that the wealth heaped up by Peter proved too tempting a bait for Imperial avarice.† The truest version of his crime seems to

* See Bréholles' Preface, 509, for these letters.

† Bonatti says that Peter had amassed more than 10,000 pounds weight of Augustals. He obtained grants of real property from the Abbey of Monte Cassino, of which the Imperial Court took cognizance after his death.

be that given by Matthew Paris, the only Chronicler actually writing in the year 1249 who mentions the tragedy. The English monk's statement is remarkably confirmed by two of Frederick's own letters. By comparing these last with the tale brought to St. Albans, we arrive at the following result. The Imperial physician, who had long lain in prison at Parma, was sent back to his master by the Legate in exchange for some Guelf noble. The leech, as well as Peter de Vinea, had been bribed by the Pope to attempt Frederick's life; poison was accordingly mixed both in the medicine and in the bath destined for the victim. Being forewarned by a friend, he said to the inferior agent, who was handing him the cup in the presence of the anxious Peter; 'Drink half of this medicine with me.' The man feigned to stumble, but a part of the deadly draught remained unspilt, and was given to some condemned criminals. All was discovered; the leech was hung, while Peter was reserved for a more lingering doom. A full council of the nobles was held; letters which proved the connivance of the Pope were brought forward; and sentence was passed upon the Arch-traitor. 'We stuffed him,' Frederick wrote to the Kingdom, 'with wealth as much as he could crave and more. He would have murdered not only ourselves, but also all those whose lives depend upon our well-being. We have therefore decreed, with the sanction of our nobles, that he is to be paraded through all the cities of our Kingdom, and to be tormented before death. Cruelty in punishing such a crime is true mercy.' The letter wound up with many lines from Juvenal.

From San Donino Peter was taken to San Miniato in Tuscany, and there his eyes were put out. He

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was led through the villages mounted on an ass; while a crier shouted, 'Behold Master Peter de Vinea, the chief counsellor of the Emperor, who betrayed his master to the Pope! See what he has gained by his dealings! Well may he say, "How high was I once, and how low am I brought!"'* The wretched man accused his servants, who had eaten his bread, of having caused his fall. But he resolved to cheat Frederick of the pleasure of parading a well-known traitor through the towns of Apulia. On the road to Pisa, where Peter was sure of an unpleasant greeting, he dashed out his brains against a pillar, to which he had been chained. His own ruin was followed by that of his kinsfolk; their goods were seized; and care was taken to restore all that they had held of the Abbey of Monte Cassino and the See of Capua to the rightful owners. Much sympathy was felt for the Emperor; he wept and wrung his hands, crying, 'Woe is me! for my own bowels are fighting against me! This Peter, whom I thought a rock, and who was the half of my life, has plotted my murder! Whom can I trust? where can I henceforth be safe?' The Pope's cause was greatly injured by the report of the foiled conspiracy.† A dark cloud long rested on the memory of the fallen minister, who is mentioned in later Royal edicts as 'Master Peter the traitor.' A part of his goods were handed over, so Frederick commanded a few months afterwards, to Walter of Ocra, the new Archbishop of Capua; this was the man who profited most by the disgrace of the favourite, and he it was

* Chronique de Rains, quoted by Cherrier. Chronicon.

† M. Paris.

who stepped into the vacant offices. May there not be some truth in the well-known lines of Dante that impute to lying calumniators the ruin of Peter, the keeper of the keys to Frederick's heart? The poet, born not long after the tragedy, and living close to its scene, has overruled the verdict pronounced by the courtiers of Augustus, and has cleared the good name of the hapless minister, who was just to all but himself.*

Frederick held his last Parliament at his beloved Cremona, and exulted in the marriages of his sons Enzio and Manfred, which would secure powerful allies to his cause. He talked of marching into Germany after visiting Tuscany and Apulia; the Aretines were ordered to make ready for their Lord's arrival. On the 11th of March the Emperor came down into Pontremoli; he was never to behold Lombardy again, whatever projects he might announce. Scarcely had he turned his back upon that province, when his old friend the Patriarch of Aquileia made peace with the Church and engaged to combat the champions of the Empire. Other desertions might provoke little remark; but Berthold had been a true liegeman for thirty years and more. When he, who had bearded the Pope at the Council of Lyons, forsook his Kaiser, it might be clearly perceived that the Roman Empire was being fast broken up.

Tuscany was now in unusual turmoil. Frederick had already taken hostages from Florence, and these he kept in the Castle of San Miniato. He had

* We know, from Frederick's own letters, that his courtiers were trying to undermine the Count of Caserta about this very time.

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afterwards persuaded the Uberti, the leading family among the Florentine Ghibellines, to drive out the Guelfs, such as the Donati, Pazzi, Brunelleschi, Buondelmonti, and many other good old houses which live for ever in the verse of Dante. Battles had been raging both day and night; the huge towers of the nobles (some of them were a hundred feet high) had been battered with mangonels. At last Frederick of Antioch had marched into Florence at the head of the German troops; the Guelfs, unable to make any further resistance, had fled by night to Capraia and other Castles, whence they could harass the enemy. Four and twenty of their Palaces in the city had been pulled down; one in its fall narrowly missed crushing the far-famed Baptistery. Eight hundred German knights had been left under the command of Count Jordan; these had been defeated at Montevarchi by the rebels late in the previous year. The Emperor, upon coming into the disturbed province, found his friends besieging the fortress of Capraia on the Arno. For reasons of his own he avoided Florence and made the little town of Fucecchio, half way between the two great Tuscan cities, his head-quarters. The garrison of Capraia might have made good terms for themselves, had it not been for the malice of one of their number, a cobbler, who felt aggrieved at his advice never having been asked. He shouted to the besiegers that the Guelfs inside were starving and that no terms at all need be granted. The helpless garrison surrendered to Frederick's army, and thought themselves dead men. He carried them with him into Apulia, but even thither the rage of their countrymen followed them. At the request of the Florentine Ghibellines, the

noble prisoners were blinded and drowned.* One alone, a gallant knight of the Buondelmonti, found such favour in the Imperial sight, that he was allowed to escape with the loss of his eyes, and died a monk in the island of Monte Cristo. The wicked cobbler, who had caused all this misery, was stoned to death by the children of Florence as soon as the Guelfs got the upper hand.† Frederick, satisfied with his Tuscan exploits, bestowed more charters upon the Monastery of Monte Amiato, which had repeatedly engaged the attention of himself and his son. Having granted vast powers to Pallavicino, the Imperial commander left at Cremona, Frederick sailed with his prisoners (Peter had already balked the Imperial vengeance) from Pisa to Naples, arriving there late in May. After a short stay at Benevento, he travelled on to Melfi and Foggia.

Almost on the very day of his quitting the North, a frightful disaster in that quarter overwhelmed his followers. Early in the year King Enzio had taken the Castle of Arola, and had hung no fewer than a hundred and twelve Reggian Guelfs, whom he found in it.‡ It is sad to think that this exploit, almost the last he was ever able to achieve, should have been sullied by such wholesale cruelties. But speedy retribution was at hand. While Enzio was ravaging the Parmesan country, Modena was left undefended. Cardinal Octavian persuaded the Bolognese not to let the happy moment slip. Azzo of Este sent them a large reinforcement, and they sallied forth with

* Let us hope that the great Farinata had nothing to do with these atrocious reprisals.

† Malespini. ‡ Chronicon.

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their Carroccio, their eight Captains, and the Legate. They fortified every Castle until they reached the river Panaro, where they halted. Modena was only three miles off; her burghers entreated the return of Enzio, who came at full speed with fifteen thousand men of different nationalities. He encamped at Fossalta, a stream but one mile from the Panaro. The armies stood watching each other, anxious to fall on at the right instant. Enzio made a movement with a few picked troops to take the Guelfs in the rear, but this only brought on a fierce skirmish, in which he had the worst of it. The Bolognese Senate, becoming impatient, sent Antonio Lambertazzi with 2000 fresh troops, and ordered their general to attack without delay. He turned the right flank of the enemy and approached Modena with his army drawn up in four divisions and a reserve of picked soldiers. The King of Sardinia posted his trusty Germans in front, with Italian archers intermingled; the Modenese acted as a reserve. On the 26th of May the battle began, and lasted until nightfall. There was little generalship shown, but much courage; Enzio himself had his horse killed, while fighting hand to hand with Lambertazzi, but he was remounted by the Germans. At last the Modenese fled in disorder to their city or into the woods. Many were slain and many were taken; the Captain of the Reggians lost his life; Buoso of Duera was made prisoner. But the great prize was King Enzio himself, who was kept in Castel Franco, until Cardinal Octavian and the Podesta had made an end of their ravages in the Ghibelline country and returned home. At last the Church party could boast of a victory won in the open field; they had hitherto been

routed whenever they had risked a battle; Milan, Perugia, and Ancona had all told the same tale; but the present triumphant march into Bologna reminded scholars of the old Roman days. Every burgher went forth to meet the conquerors and to stare at the crowd of prisoners.* All eyes were turned upon Enzio, so young and so handsome; his locks, of the colour of gold thread, floated down to his girdle. Few could behold without pity the hapless warrior, doomed by a decree of the State to imprisonment for life.† Frederick was not long in demanding the release of his favourite son. 'We hear,' thus he wrote to the Bolognese, 'that you are holding public rejoicings along with your Lombard brethren, but we mean to break the horns of iron you have made for yourselves. Ask your fathers, and they will tell you how our grandsire of happy memory drove the Milanese from their homes. We command you to set free our son the King of Sardinia, with the rest of your prisoners; otherwise we shall besiege you without delay, and make you a byword and a reproach among the nations.' An answer to this letter was speedily drawn up by a Doctor of Laws at Bologna: 'Do not frighten us with windy words; we are neither reeds nor feathers. We have held King Enzio, we shall hold him, and we do hold him, as is our right. We are quite ready for a trial of strength with you; we shall gird our swords upon our thighs and roar like lions. We care not for your countless hosts; a boar is often pinned by a

* According to the Chronicon, 400 knights and 1200 infantry were taken prisoners.

† Ghirardacci, who abounds in details.

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little dog.' The baffled Emperor offered, it is said, to surround Bologna with a circle of gold, if he might thus ransom his son. He made light of the late mishap in his answer to the gloomy despatch sent him by the Modenese. But he was rash in promising them vengeance. Cardinal Octavian marched against these old enemies of Bologna, swung a dead ass from one of his machines into their city, and forced it to yield in December. Modena in that month made a treaty with her conquerors, whereby she engaged to make war upon her old patron.

The Royal captive, abandoned by his friends, was lodged by the Bolognese in their Podesta's Palace, where the hall of King Enzio was shown for ages after the death of its inmate. A noble lady named Lucia Viadagola was given him for a companion, and some writers have derived the Bentivoglio family from this amorous commerce. Four citizens were appointed to visit and enliven him every day, in the presence of his guards. One of these was Peter Asinelli, who being able to speak German became a great favourite with the King. Years rolled away; Frederick's sons and grandsons died off, until at last Enzio might consider himself the head of the family. He persuaded Peter to aid him in escaping from Bologna. A cooper of great strength promised his help; a cask of wine was brought into the Hall and emptied; Enzio was then enclosed within it and borne through the streets on the cooper's back. They had all but reached the spot where horses were waiting in readiness, when a soldier saw a lock of fair hair peeping out of the cask; he turned out the guard, and all was discovered. Enzio

was dragged back to his prison, which no more visitors were thenceforward allowed to enter; Asinelli fled; the other accomplices were put to death. Three and twenty years did the King of Sardinia linger on, until death came to release him. By the orders of the Bolognese Senate his body was embalmed, robed in scarlet, and buried in the Dominican Church; it lay in state for some days adorned with a golden crown and sceptre. Some rhyming verses were engraven on his marble tomb, but these have now been replaced by other lines.* Such was the end of King Enzio, the chivalrous Troubadour, who was by common consent the noblest of all the Imperial offspring.† History does not record a more sorrowful tale.

Amidst all the battles and sieges which make the annals of Northern Italy interesting, the South had remained in inglorious repose. But no sooner had St. Louis started for Cyprus, than Innocent planned a furious attack upon the Kingdom of Sicily. He called it the special property of the Roman Church; its inhabitants were now like the Israelites under the yoke of Pharaoh. Ever since Frederick had reigned, the Kingdom of Sicily had suffered violence, and his ministers had taken it by force. His former honey had become gall of late years. The rich land had been entrusted to a grasping husbandman. The realm, specially blest of the Lord in all things, could now scarcely be recognized. Its Church was being gnawed by a villain who outheroded Herod.‡ It was the duty of the Pope to

* Ghirardacci, Storia di Bologna. † Salimbene.

‡ Factus Herode hic nequam Herodior.

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succour his own fief. Cardinal Regnier and Cardinal Stephen were roused to fresh efforts; the trumpet of the Lord must be blown louder. A crusade must be preached thoughout Central Italy, especially around Rome, Spoleto, and Ancona. Every Bishop or priest who might dare to accept a favour from Frederick's government was to be deposed for ever. All cities and nobles, who took his side against the army of the Church, were to lose their privileges and to incur everlasting infamy. His adherents were deprived of the right of making their wills, of inheriting property, and of giving evidence in Court. Every one who might rise against the tyrant was promised the same indulgences as a Crusader bound for Palestine. The Church would not again be tricked by Frederick; a solemn pledge was given that neither he nor his viperous offspring should ever hold the Empire or the Kingdom. Oil and wine were to be poured into the wounds of Sicily, which had fallen into the hands of a robber. All laws and customs, enacted either by Frederick or by his predecessors, to the prejudice of the Church, were now abrogated by Innocent. Elections to Bishopricks were henceforth to be free, without any Royal intermeddling; no clerk was to be tried by a secular judge, even though the charge might be one of high treason. The mistake made by the Papacy two hundred years before in its dealings with the Norman chiefs seemed now likely to be rectified.

In April, 1249, the Pope sent a new Legate into Central Italy; this was the young Cardinal, Peter Capoccio, who had for the last two years been fanning the flame in Germany. Every friend of the Papacy in the country, from the Bishop of Ostia

downwards, was enjoined to obey this new leader. He was authorized to declare that Rome would never forsake the rebels, and that no peace would ever be made with Frederick or his sons, so long as any throne was filled by the Suabian race. St. Louis, had he been still in Europe, would assuredly have remonstrated against this implacable ferocity. The Cardinal might translate Bishops at his will, and might strip the Teutonic Brethren of their rights, should they cleave to their Kaiser. He might dispense with the rules of the Church as to simony and bastardy, as he should find it expedient. Another Legate was charged with a mission to Corsica and Sardinia, and was invested with powers equal to those wielded by Capoccio. Many thousands of silver marks and ounces of gold were borrowed for the holy war. The Pope was already taking upon himself to distribute fiefs and benefices in the Kingdom. Thus he granted the Principality of Taranto and the lands of Otranto to Henry Frangipane, the Count of the holy Lateran Palace, referring at the same time to a deed of gift purporting to have been drawn up by Frederick's mother. Other lands in Sardinia were also assigned to Henry. Divisions in families were soon remarked. Thus Pandulf of Aquino kept steady in his allegiance to the Crown, while his son was driven into banishment; the youth was consoled by a grant of his father's domains made to him by Innocent. Matters had by this time gone so far that the Emperor, goaded almost into madness by the desertions of his friends and the daring challenges of his foes, resolved to keep no measures with traitors in his own Kingdom. He was willing enough even at this crisis to uphold the loyal

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monks in their rights, as the records of Monte Cassino, Monte Vergine, and Cava bear witness; he could reckon on the aid of some of the higher Prelates, such as the Archbishop of Salerno and others; but there was no keeping down the begging friars. They were now more zealous than ever. Two months before quitting Tuscany for the last time, Frederick had sent fresh instructions to the Count of Caserta; this noble was to hunt out all traitors, taking care however to ascertain their guilt from the lips of more than one witness, in order that they might not be made the victims of private enmity. Justice, as we see, could not be altogether banished from the Imperial mind, even in this hour of mistrust and gloom. The Minorites and Preachers, who were crawling about the country like crabs, were no longer to be locked up or banished; they were now to be tied together like foxes and burnt alive. Sicily was the pupil of Frederick's eye; the Pope must not plant thorns in that garden. Any persons, bringing in or receiving treasonable letters, were to be burnt, whatever might be their age or sex; impunity was promised to any loyal subject who might slay them.

These ruthless commands did not remain a dead letter. There was a Franciscan friar, whom Frederick had denounced by name, Simon of Montesarchio, a sprightly and active Southron, of swarthy complexion. He had resided at Lyons as proctor of his Order, but was afterwards sent by Innocent on the Apulian mission. Late in the previous year he had made the voyage from Nice to Genoa in company with his friend Salimbene, and had then plunged into the dangers of sedition. He roamed about the King-

dom, preaching revolt; his adventures must have resembled those of a Jesuit in Elizabethan times. Many were brought over by him to the side of the Church; at last he was seized and put to death, having first undergone eighteen different kinds of torture; nothing could be wrung from him but praise to God.* To such a pass had things now come, that the ministers of the Pope were treated just as the Pope himself would have treated Paterine heretics.

Traitors were at work both in the Kingdom and on its borders. Fasanella and Morra were busy in the Anconitan March, fighting under the banner of Cardinal Regnier; but they were routed in the summer of 1248 with the loss of two thousand men. Prince Richard gained this great victory at Civita Nuova, taking crowds of prisoners.† Frederick, overjoyed at the turn of fortune, bade the Southern nobles be ready to follow up the late successes; he promised himself to undertake a campaign in the March. Innocent in the next year sent thither Cardinal Capoccio, the best man for the command. Osimo, Macerata, and Gubbio obtained charters from the Emperor, while his old enemies of Ascoli were now requesting him to send them a Podesta out of Lombardy. The German troops defeated Cardinal Peter towards the end of the year, and took two of his nephews prisoners in a bloody battle. The standard of the Keys had to fly before that of the Eagle. Fermo, Recanati, Ancona, Tolentino, and the other Guelf towns were now depressed, while the Pope comforted them by promising that their lost property should be restored. Walter of Palear, the Count of

* Salimbene. † Compagnone.

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Manupello, was sent from the Kingdom to command in the March, and speedily recovered Fermo, a strong position. He bore a name connected with both the first and the last years of his master's life. Frederick urged him forward, though at the same time sorry to miss him from the Court. The Emperor boasted in his letters of the feats of his troops, cavalry, infantry, and archers, speaking many different tongues, who were blockading every rebellious town and castle in the March. On the 20th of August, 1250, Walter stormed Cingolo, and Cardinal Peter only escaped captivity by stealing away in the night disguised as a beggar. The ravages committed in Central Italy were fearful. Thus the men of Foligno and the German soldiery destroyed Nocera, only sparing its lofty Castle. The clergy fled, leaving their books and sacred vessels to the pillagers, who quartered themselves, their women, and their horses in the Cathedral. Not the slightest reverence was shown to the bones of St. Rinaldo or the other Saints, there enshrined.* The soldiers of Macerata ransacked a convent near Fermo, plundered its altars, burnt its mills, and carried off its bells, doors, bedding, and live stock, even down to the bee-hives. Cardinal Regnier vowed that the Ghibelline State should make good the damage done before she was reconciled to the Church, and this threat was carried out.† Umbria became the prey of the freebooters who followed the Imperial Captains. The faithful had no comfort, save from the legends of miracles vouchsafed by Heaven. Thus the Saracens, who swarmed over the land like bees, were drawing

* Acta Sanctorum, Feb. 9.

† Compagnone.

nigh to Assisi, and had actually forced their way into the nunnery of San Damiano. The Abbess, the famous St. Clara, roused from a bed of sickness by the cries of the sisterhood, caused herself to be borne to the point of danger, preceded by the Host. She prayed to Heaven; and the Moslem speedily fled down the walls they had climbed. Not long afterwards, Vitale of Aversa cut down the trees around Assisi, and swore he would not stir until he had taken the holy city. But St. Clara placed ashes on the heads of her nuns and sent them all to their knees. On the next night the besiegers were scattered, and their leader's death soon followed. Another canonized heroine roused the courage of Viterbo. St. Rosa, a child but ten years old, stood forth in the public Council with the Cross in her hand, and harangued against those of her townsmen who were heretics and Imperialists. They procured her banishment from the city, and she was driven out with all her kinsfolk in the bitter winter of 1250. At Soriano she was favoured with a vision, and foretold the death of the Arch-enemy, which was announced within a few days. Viterbo instantly hoisted the banner of the Church.*

In this frightful struggle, every ally was of importance, whether abroad or at home. Both Innocent and Frederick had already made earnest attempts to gain the friendship of Vataces, and the Emperor had become so complimentary as to write of 'the old and tried sincerity of the Greeks.' Late in 1248, he avowed in another letter his hearty sympathy with all princes and governors;

* Wadding, and Bussi.

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for their cause was his. 'We, the Kings of the world, are all at enmity with the Prelates of the Church. They are longing to enjoy a pestilent freedom; they abuse our bounty; they conspire against our life; they try to set our brother Monarchs against us. But this only takes place in the West and in this Europe of ours. Happy Asia! happy Princes of the East, who are not troubled by rebellious subjects or by Popes! We congratulate you on your late victory, and we thank you for your proposal to visit us.'

Innocent very shortly afterwards strove to neutralize these Imperial invectives by an embassy to Vataces. He chose out for this purpose the best of envoys, a man deemed worthy of kisses from the Papal lips. This was John of Parma, the General of the Franciscans, the most humane and upright of friars, fond of a joke with his young novices, and only chargeable with one fault; a fanatical belief in the books of Abbot Joachim. So little of jealousy was there in the General's nature that he took pains to win back into the fold his predecessor Elias; but the effort miscarried, and the rebel's bones were torn from the grave after death and thrown upon a dunghill. John went to the East, whence a brother of his Order had come with overtures of peace.* But even John seems to have failed in effecting anything; the barrier between the Latins and the Greeks was insurmountable. In the next year, the last of Frederick's life, Eastern politics took up much of the attention of the Apulian Court. A great host was to be assembled in the spring, and the East was invited to send a contingent. 'Pure

* Salimbene.

love in Christ,' so Frederick wrote, 'has made us one with the Greeks, against whom that Pope is giving his tongue full rein, because we are leagued with them; he calls them heretics, though they are in the highest degree orthodox.' Vataces, who was Frederick's son-in-law, sent into Italy a band of knights and archers; for whose conveyance the Imperial ships were despatched to Durazzo, opposite to Brindisi. In the summer the Western Emperor was able to congratulate his Greek friend upon various successes in Rhodes. He went on thus; 'What right has that Pope to send Minorites and Preachers to confer with the heads of your Church? He excommunicates you by name every day, and calls all your subjects heretics, though it was from among them that Christianity was propagated over the world. How does that author of schism denounce you to the Latins as apostates from the faith! How does the Papacy change as it were in the twinkling of an eye its ancient rancour against you for love! Is not this the man who cursed us in public for joining our beloved daughter with you in lawful wedlock? Whence did these priests of ours learn to fight against Christians, to exchange the pastoral staff for the lance, and the pen for the arrow? Look at our holy Cardinals, carrying on war in our Empire; one is called Duke, another Marquess, another Count; this one draws up armies, that one bears a battle-axe. Did they learn this from Christ's first disciples or from any General Council? Ought not these priests of infamy, these false prophets, to be burnt with fire, as in the days of Elijah? Such are the shepherds of Israel; what havoc have they not wrought in Germany, in Italy, in every land! But

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he who is lurking in Lyons is now held in scorn as the father of lies; his followers loathe his ways. How many thousands have just perished in the Nile, owing to him! He has spread a false report of our death; but his treasures, wrung from the churches, have vanished away. Those friars who have been sent to you have not gone to discuss religion, but to sow the tares of strife after their wonted fashion. We blame you for wishing to send envoys to the Pope without asking your father's consent; for our part, we are never willing to act without your advice. We are now despatching six ships to Durazzo, together with one of our courtiers, to bring your messengers and to enjoin the friars that they tarry in that city until we choose to send for them.' Frederick contrived to frustrate all the overtures of the Greeks to the Papacy; he detained some ambassadors from the East, who were on their way to Lyons, for eighteen months; they were only able to proceed Northwards after his death.*

Thousands indeed, as he remarked, had that very year perished in the Nile, victims of the rancorous war waged in Italy between the Church and the Empire. The French Crusaders had been left to fight their own way. How could it be otherwise? Frederick complained that the more overtures he made for peace, the harsher did the Pope become. Crusaders had been lately despatched against Apulia, as if Christ had been crucified there over again; these warriors would have been more useful in Egypt. Innocent had craftily delayed his strong measures, until Louis had fairly started for the East.

* De Curbio.

The French troops spent the winter of 1248 in Cyprus, and thither Frederick sent plenty of provisions for their use, although there had been a great dearth in Apulia for two years running. Young Joinville has recorded his surprise at the vast stores of barley, wheat, and wine which met his eyes in the quarters of the French army. In 1249, Frederick wrote anxiously to his Royal brother, on hearing that a storm had scattered the Christian fleet near the coast of Cyprus. He despatched another letter to Queen Blanche, who had remained behind; he regretted that he was prevented by the Pope's policy from joining the Crusaders, but he had sent fifty war-horses and a quantity of corn to her son Alfonso, the Count of Poitou, who was then on the way to Egypt. The grateful Queen wrote to Innocent, entreating mercy for the Sovereign who had preserved the life of her son and the honour of the whole Christian army; Louis himself entitled Frederick the friend and benefactor of the Church.* But the Pope did not relent; and a few months later came the dreadful news of the overthrow of the French chivalry. The Emperor requested their Mohammedan gaoler to set them free; though some of their number viewed with suspicion the Eastern correspondence of Messer Ferry, especially after hearing that he was accustomed to send a yearly embassy to solicit the friendship of the Prince of the Assassins.† A document only just brought to light makes it clear that the Imperial government was not so misled by mean jealousy as to throw hindrances in the way of the reinforcements coming from the West. The Bailiff at Messina

* M. Paris. † Joinville.

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was called upon, in the summer of 1250, to redress the wrongs of some hundreds of pilgrims, knights, priests, barbers, and cobblers, drawn from many realms, who had chartered the good ship St. Victor to convey them and their wives to any place beyond the sea where the King of France might be. Four of them, one being an Englishman, pleaded the cause before the Sicilian Court, and had the owners of the ship, who had made default in carrying out the agreement, condemned in costs.

Frederick mourned over the late disaster; as Louis was not in Europe, the Emperor turned to the Crown of Castile. 'Why,' he asked, 'does not the Pope cease to attack Christians, and why does he not succour the Holy Land? We have often offered him our help, and that of our sons, since we love the Holy Roman Church. Our cause is yours; what would become of other Kings, if the Roman Augustus forsook their cause? Your neighbour the King of Portugal affords you an instance of the danger of yielding to priestly arrogance. We have sent forward a noble army into Northern Italy, intending to follow it; but hearing of the mishap that has befallen our dear friend the King of France, we have returned into our Kingdom, wishing to despatch vessels and men to his aid.'

The last year of Frederick's life was spent by him chiefly at Foggia, Venosa, or among his warriors encamped at Lago Pesole; the plotting of the begging friars bore fruit, for Troja had once more to be dismantled and laid waste. Certain of its churches and hospitals were spared so long as they were managed by monks who were strangers to the town. The Emperor had also leisure for foreign politics. Flattered

by the gifts sent him by Queen Blanche, he allowed his youngest son Henry, the boyish Regent of the Kingdom, to offer to mediate between France and England.* Frederick, bent upon another campaign, was willing to give up the pleasures of the South and the fine mansions he had built at San Lorenzo, close to Foggia.† Thousands of those who had shouted for Cortenuova and groaned for Victoria, in all probability the majority of the Northern Italians, were looking wistfully towards their old leader. His chances were more hopeful now than they had been since 1241. He had conciliated the good will of Christendom by his renewed offers to serve in the Holy Land. Conrad had been making a successful campaign on the Rhine; the Duke of Bavaria was staunch as ever; and the Duke of Saxony was at this very moment sending his daughter into Italy, to become the Kaiser's fourth bride.‡ In Lombardy the Ghibellines were getting the upper hand. Eccelin, already master of Feltro and Belluno, had just taken the Castle of Este with the help of some Carinthian miners.§ The Count of Savoy was still guarding the Alpine passes; Genoa and Venice had ceased to be troublesome. Parma was mourning the loss of her Carroccio in a battle fought on the site of Victoria, and thousands of her children were undergoing shameful tortures in the Cremonese dungeons.‖ Piacenza on the other hand, which had been the sturdy enemy of Frederick ever since his election to the Empire, had just recalled her Ghibelline exiles and driven out Cardinal Octavian. Cæsar was able

* M. Paris. † Jamsilla. ‡ Ann. Salisburg.
§ Rolandini. ‖ Salimbene.

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to dwell with pride on the feats of 'renowned Cremona, gallant Pavia, stout Bergamo, daring Lodi.' Meanwhile Milan and Brescia were losing heart; in a few years they would become the prey of Pallavicino and Eccelin.* Bologna alone, proud of her Royal captive, and lording it over recovered Romagna, stood unflinching before the Imperial frown. Central Italy had been so ravaged and plundered, that the Cardinals commanding there found themselves unable to make head against the Count of Manupello. Their Master was ill at ease in his self-chosen exile. His neighbours at Avignon and Arles were swearing allegiance to the Empire. The reproaches of Christendom were being dinned into his ears. He was accused by the French as the cause of the ruin of their enterprise and of the disgrace of their Crown; had he not bartered the vows of Crusaders for money, and thus stopped all the reinforcements destined for the East? Two of the French Princes and the Duke of Burgundy had been sent straight home from Acre, to threaten Innocent with a rising of the whole nation, unless he should consent to make peace with Frederick. It is strange to find Charles of Anjou vehement on the side of the Hohenstaufens. The Pope, beset on every hand, was begging leave from the Crown of England that he might come to Bourdeaux; but the English shuddered at the thought of a Papal visit to any of their provinces; London might easily be reached from Gascony.†

Such were the chances in Frederick's favour, if he chose to plant his foot in the stirrup and repeat the

* Chronicon. † M. Paris.

enterprise of 1247. But the smiles of Fortune came too late. His temper had been soured by reverses, his health was ruined. His mode of life was not that which leads a man gently onward to a green old age. His friends were almost all gone; the best-beloved of his children were far away. His Apulian nobles had betrayed him; Peter de Vinea and Thaddeus of Sessa were in their graves; Enzio was in a prison. Another son, probably Richard the Count of Chieti, had died in the previous year.* The Emperor, the lord of so many fair realms, the possessor of all the knowledge of the age, the man almost worshipped as a God on earth, had proved life to be nothing but vanity. Weary and war-broken, he must have longed for the rest of the grave.

He placed his chief trust, during the last year of his life, in Mohammedans, finding the votaries of his own creed untrustworthy. Thus in April it was discovered that the Inspector of prisons at Bari was purposing to allow the captives kept there to escape. The Emperor instantly sent down his fiscal advocate, Andrew of Capua, with a dozen crossbowmen. Three days later justice was done at Bari, where Matthew Spinello, the Apulian chronicler, happened to be. The traitorous Inspector, with ten of his servants, was quartered; a Lombard Count, two Florentines, and William of Tocco, a high Official, were all beheaded. The Castle of Bari was thenceforward entrusted to a Saracen from Lucera. The town of Bitetto was plundered and its Bishop was belaboured with sticks. In September, a Saracen was slain at Barletta, and the murderer was screened

* M. Paris.

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from justice by the citizens; two of them were laden with chains and their town was fined a thousand Augustals. Shortly afterwards, Prince Manfred came to Barletta, and after receiving two thousand Augustals, he exempted it from having Saracens quartered within its walls. Seventeen fresh troops of these unwelcome guests had been lately imported from Barbary, and occupied Calabria and Basilicata.* The Moslem were sent to ravage Umbria and garrison Lombardy; after Frederick's age they were strangers to Northern Italy, until their valour was once more called into play by another Christian Emperor at Magenta and Solferino.

The Suabian Monarch was now not far from his end. He had already needed the services of a physician, when at Andria in June; late in November he was seized with a dangerous illness while on his road to his favourite garrison. He could proceed no further than Fiorentino, called otherwise Firenzuola, a hunting-lodge of his six miles short of Lucera. He had been told long before by his astrologers that his death would take place near iron gates at a town deriving its name from Flora; and on that account he had always avoided Florence in Tuscany. He soon heard, upon enquiry, that close to the chamber where he lay there was a door secured by iron bars, blocked up with masonry. He calmly remarked; 'This is the spot, long ago foretold to me, where I must die; the will of God be done.' †

It was soon known all over the country that the

* Spinello.

† Pipin. See Spinello for the Emperor's last months on earth.

Emperor was dangerously ill; he rallied early in December, but a relapse followed. A crowd of illustrious subjects stood around his death-bed. First in rank was Berard the hoary Archbishop of Palermo, who had been true to his master ever since their voyage to Genoa in 1212, and who had therefore, according to the Pope, sinned without measure against God.* Germany was represented by Berthold von Hohenburg; he had that very year received, at the Imperial request, the hand of a high-born Apulian lady of the house of Palear, but his loyalty to the Hohenstaufens was soon to be tried and found wanting. There was also the Count of Caserta, Frederick's son-in-law; Richard of Montenero, the Grand Justiciary of the Kingdom; and Peter Ruffo of Calabria, a man of low birth raised by the Emperor to the rank of Marshal. But the most remarkable of all those present at the closing scene was a young physician, John of Procida. For centuries he has been held up as the model of patriots; modern researches have discovered spots in his glory; and Sicily may well forget him as she gazes on her later deliverer, a stainless hero.

Frederick, professing himself sound in mind though sick in body, dictated his will to the notary Nicholas of Brindisi; it was drawn up on a Saturday, probably on the 10th of December. Its chief provisions were as follows. Conrad was to have the Empire and the Kingdom; should he die childless, he was to be succeeded first by Henry, and then by Manfred. The son of Bianca was appointed Regent of the realm with full powers, during his brother's absence;

* Raynaldus, for 1251.

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and was endowed with the Principality of Taranto, several counties, and the honour of Monte San Angelo, besides a bequest of ten thousand ounces of gold. Frederick, the Emperor's grandson, had an equal bequest in money, and also the Duchies of Austria and Styria. Henry was to have either the Kingdom of Arles or that of Jerusalem, as Conrad might prefer, together with a hundred thousand ounces of gold. The like sum was to be employed for the succour of the Holy Land, to benefit the Emperor's soul. Restitution of rights and property was made to the Templars, the Churches, and the religious houses. The nobles and commons of the Kingdom were henceforth to pay no other taxes than had been customary in the days of King William the Second. The churches of Lucera and Sora were to be rebuilt. The cost of a bridge over the Ofanto was to be defrayed by the produce of one of the Imperial farms. All prisoners were to be set free, except traitors; Frederick forbade his heirs ever to forgive those banished from the realm for treason. Manfred was to reward with lands every one who had deserved well of the Hohenstaufens. The Emperor ordered all his debts to the merchants to be paid, and restitution of all her rights to be made to the Holy Roman Church, his Mother, saving the honour of the Empire and his heirs; at the same time he expected the Church to restore the rights of the Empire. He directed that his body should be buried at Palermo by the side of his parents, bequeathing five hundred ounces of gold to the Archbishop, to be spent in repairing the Cathedral, for the salvation of the souls of the Imperial line.

Enjoining his sons, as they prized his blessing, to be

content with their respective bequests, Frederick with his own hand marked a cross on the will, declared that it had been drawn up according to his wishes, and ordered his seal to be set to it. Those around his bed wrote their names at the bottom of the document, and used the seals of the Empire and the Kingdom to attest their signatures. On the evening of the 12th of December, he was able to eat some pears preserved in sugar, and said that on the morrow he hoped to leave his bed. But the morrow, St. Lucy's feast, was the last day of his life.* He had been carefully tended by his son Manfred, a handsome lad of eighteen, with eyes bright as stars, and ruddy cheeks.† This youth, who had loved from his boyhood the studies of his father and had been richly endowed by nature, was the destined Regent of the realm; Prince Henry being but a child.‡ We know nothing of the state of the Emperor's mind at the moment when he was about to take the awful leap in the dark, with so many sins upon his head. Happy had it been for him, could he have exchanged his boasted stores of worldly knowledge for that sure trust in the merits of a Crucified Saviour, which was the only comfort of Anselm and Bernard in the previous age, and to which so many thousands of pious Christians have clung as their one hope in the hour of death! Even with the latter provisions of his will before our eyes, it is hard to believe that Frederick was not above the weakness of those who think that

* There has been much wrangling as to the day of Frederick's death; the question is now settled by a notice found in a Martyrology that belonged to the Royal Chapel of Palermo. See Cherrier, Appendix.

† Saba Malaspina. ‡ Jamsilla.

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they can unlock Paradise with a golden key.* His end was such as to satisfy the religious ideas of that age, as his sons bore witness in their letters. It was said that he died in the Cistercian garb (throughout his life he had been partial to the White Order), that he received absolution from the Archbishop of Palermo, and that an earthquake was felt in distant countries on the day of his death.† We pass over with scorn the tale of his having been smothered by Manfred, a legend due to Guelf spite.‡ It was not likely forsooth that the Prince should wish to exchange a kind father for a jealous elder brother. All the monks and friars rejoiced over the death of the great enemy. 'Down to hell he went,' cries one, 'taking with him nought but a burden of sins!' § 'God,' cries another, 'looked down from His throne, saw that the bark of Peter was shattered, and Himself snatched away the tyrant. Frederick was seized with dysentery; he foamed and ground his teeth; he tore himself to pieces and bellowed loudly; he died wretchedly, an excommunicated man.' ‖ This is the kind of hatred that follows its victim beyond the grave. A certain friar, when at his prayers, saw

* Surely my readers will thank me for giving them Dr. Milman's views as to the Emperor's religious principles. 'Frederick's, in my judgment, was neither scornful and godless infidelity, nor certainly a more advanced and enlightened Christianity yearning after holiness and purity not then attainable. It was the shattered, dubious, at times trembling faith, at times desperately reckless incredulity, of a man ever under the burden of an undeserved excommunication, of which he could not but discern the injustice, but could not quite shake off the terrors; of a man whom a better age of Christianity might not have made religious; whom his own made irreligious.'

† M. Paris.

‡ Malespini.

§ Mon. Patavinus.

‖ De Curbio.

an army of five thousand horsemen plunge into the sea, which hissed as though they had been made of red-hot metal. One of them told the friar, that this was the Emperor Frederick and his train on the way to a distant mountain.* Salimbene, whose legends about the South are always a great contrast to his truthful accounts of his own province, after having been with some trouble thoroughly convinced that the Emperor was dead, hastened to apply the 14th chapter of Isaiah to the fallen Lucifer of Italy. The prophecy had been fulfilled to the letter. The oppressor had ceased, who smote the people in wrath with a continual stroke; hell from beneath was moved to meet him, who had made the earth to tremble, and had shaken kingdoms; he was now cast out of his grave like an abominable branch, as a carcase trodden under feet. For it was believed in the North that Frederick could not be carried to Palermo, owing to the stench emitted by his body.

Very different was the reality from these Guelf tales. Towards the end of December, the corpse was removed from Fiorentino to be shipped at Taranto. Matthew Spinello saw it pass in a litter covered with crimson silk; it was guarded by two hundred Saracens and by six troops of cavalry; behind the body marched the Barons and Syndics of the various towns, all arrayed in the garb of sorrow. Whenever the procession entered a village, a wail for the Emperor was raised by the mourners. On the 13th of January, the body was brought to Messina; it remained for some time in the Cathedral at Patti; on the 25th of February it was buried at Palermo.†

* Eccleston.

† App. ad Malaterram. See also the Martyrology.

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Frederick's Byzantine tomb may still be seen there, an urn of red porphyry, supported by four lions, and adorned with sculptures; its canopy of granite is upborne by six pillars. The epitaph engraved upon the monument was written by Trontano, a clerk; it satisfied Manfred, although the Prince had at first wished for a longer copy of verses.* There the Emperor lies, close to his grandfather, his father, his mother, and his first wife. Eighty years ago, his tomb was opened; it was found to contain two other corpses, which had been laid above him, and which had unhappily effaced every trace of his features. His person therefore afforded no such means of identification, as the long fair tresses found in the tomb of his Empress, or the red moustache and stern mien that still characterized his Imperial father. The Crown of gilt silver was on Frederick's head; the golden orb, filled with earth, but shorn of the usual cross, was in his left hand. A cross, embroidered in red silk, marked the left shoulder of the hero of 1229. His body was enfolded in a long linen shirt, adorned with arabesques and Cufic characters. His silken boots still retained their spurs; his sword hung at his left side, a purse at his girdle; a golden ring containing a large emerald was on the middle finger of his right hand. Pearls, amethysts, and other jewels of rare workmanship were scattered about the dress of the Roman Emperor.† His memory

* Malespini. The verses, now erased, were;

> 'Si probitas, sensus, virtutum gratia, census,
> Nobilitas orti possent resistere morti,
> Non foret extinctus Fredericus, qui jacet intus.'

† Gregorio and Bréholles.

has always been cherished with peculiar fondness by his Sicilian subjects.

But though a pompous funeral might take place at Palermo, the disciples of Abbot Joachim, scattered over the world, were far too shrewd to believe that their Antichrist had in truth passed away. They applied to him one of the Sibyl's prophecies; 'He shall resound also among the people; he is alive, and yet is not alive.' His life, according to Merlin, was to be lengthened to a hundred years; only six and fifty of these had passed.* Almost ten months rolled away before Salimbene, the most sharp-sighted of Lombards, could bring himself to believe that the Emperor was indeed no more. At last he had the best authority for the fact; for it was announced by Innocent himself, in a sermon preached from a window in the Bishop's palace at Ferrara. The friar was nudged by a countryman, who whispered; 'So the Emperor is dead, which you would never believe! Put away your Joachim!' Salimbene took the hint; his prophet had failed him; the dreaded year 1260 passed, and he declared; 'From this time henceforth I am resolved to believe nothing but what I shall see myself.' Other Joachites were not equally wise. They would sit under the vines behind the dormitories, and pore over the pages of Isaiah by the light of the Calabrian seer. They were now inclined to transfer the title of Antichrist to the wizard King of Castile.†

In this state of public feeling, impostors sprang up both in Sicily and Germany. A beggar personated the Emperor, let his beard grow, and took up his

* Salimbene. † Ibid.

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abode on Mount Etna; he gave out that, having expiated his sins for nine years, he had been allowed by God to revisit earth. The knave displayed great knowledge of the Court, the Empire, and the Kingdom; he was backed by many of the nobles of Sicily and Apulia, but Manfred put him to death.* Another impostor started up in Germany in 1285; many of the Lombard states, and even the Marquess of Este, sent envoys to search into the matter; the disciples of Joachim had no doubts.† But the false Frederick was burnt alive by the reigning Monarch, Rodolph of Habsburg.‡ Even so late as the year 1290, bets were laid in Germany that the great Suabian was still alive and would soon come with mighty forces. Some averred that he had gone beyond the seas with his retinue to avoid the evils, with which his astrologers had threatened him, should he stay in Europe.§

Such was the spell of the Emperor's name upon his contemporaries and their children; it has an almost equal fascination for posterity. No one in his life was ever more beloved by his friends or more hated by his foes; this fate has pursued his memory up to the present day. He stands before us, the last of the Emperors of the old school; the last whose sway was acknowledged with equal readiness by the great mass of both Germans and Italians. His death closes with almost dramatic effect the first half of that wondrous Thirteenth Century. Those who have written in his praise seem to be kindled by the same fire that burned in the clergy of Ratisbon and

* Jamsilla; Salimbene.
† Salimbene.
‡ Ann. Colmar.
§ Vitoduranus.

the seamen of Pisa; while the spirits of Albert von Beham and Nicholas of Corby seem to live again in Frederick's modern assailants. The truth probably lies between the two extremes. We cannot bring ourselves to believe that the friend of Berard of Palermo and Hermann von Salza, of St. Louis and St. Ferdinand, was utterly devoid of virtues. At the same time no attempt has been made in this work to draw a veil over any of the Emperor's faults; his three vices have been unsparingly set forth. To them the sworn champions of Rome will ever be able to point with venomous glee. But these very same vices, with scarcely a redeeming virtue, are glaringly seen in many Sovereigns whom Rome delights to honour. Take the present Century alone; mark the dens of cruelty, the sties of lust, the broken oaths which have disgraced the Courts of Southern Europe, beloved of the Papacy. It may well be doubted whether the age of railways and telegraphs has much reason to boast over the age of astrologers and crusaders.*

Wonderful as Frederick's genius was, it has left but few abiding results. The Charters granted by his contemporaries King John of England and King Andrew of Hungary are still prized as jewels by millions of true-hearted freemen; while the Constitutions of the Suabian Emperor are abandoned to the curiosity of antiquaries. A few fine coins, a few mouldering ruins, a few Italian rhymes, and a Latin treatise are the chief relics that remain of the Wonder of the

* Our own age has beheld with great calmness the atrocities perpetrated at Warsaw in 1861 and 1862 by the 'benevolent Alexander.'

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world. His gallant offspring soon perished on the field or on the scaffold; 'his name, and remnant, and son, and nephew were cut off.'* There are not many instances in history of so awful a downfall as that of the Hohenstaufens.

Rome won the battle; and we need not regret it.† The Papal giants of the Thirteenth century, ever ready to march in the van of public opinion, shrinking from useless crimes, are not likely to be reproduced in our days. Their conduct may perhaps be angrily denounced; the sturdy Protestant will revile their ambition and combativeness; the admirer of the Divine right of Kings (a few such admirers still linger among us) will mourn over the ruin of the matchless Hohenstaufens; the lover of chivalry will bewail the loss of the Holy Land; the English patriot will turn with disgust from a shameful chapter in his national history; the German patriot will sigh as he thinks of the time when his country was united; the Italian patriot will point with scorn to the lines of Kings, almost always degenerating, which have ruled at Naples since the fall of the House of Suabia. But in spite of all these outcries, the impartial enquirer will hesitate before he pronounces that the fall of this House was a blow to the interests of mankind.

Most Royal families have features peculiar to themselves. Thus in the Plantagenet line, starting

* I must remark, that Frederick is now represented by the Duke of Saxe-Coburg, the descendant of the old Margraves of Meissen. The prophecy of Isaiah, so triumphantly applied by Salimbene, has not been altogether fulfilled.

† I remember reading this line engraven on Innocent's tomb at Naples; 'Stravit inimicum Christi colubrum Fridericum.'

from 1216, we find a regular alternation of weak and strong Kings for nearly two hundred years. The people reaped the advantage; what the Royal father lost, the Royal son could never regain; and our happy Constitution is the result.* Very different was the case of the Hohenstaufens; there, from the moment of their first appearance in history, each son seemed to outdo his father. When they had climbed to the Empire, each of them seemed bent on adding a new Kingdom by marriage or by conquest to the trophies of the great House. In Frederick the Second its fortune seemed to culminate. The absorption of all Europe into a revived Augustan Empire was an event by no means impossible. What would have been achieved by the stubborn Conrad and the daring Conradin, had those youths been allowed to grasp the sceptre of their forefathers, can only be conjectured. But when we remember, that Bohemia, Hungary, Poland, and Denmark were already vassals of the Empire; that Germany and Italy, abounding in warriors and seamen, were its component parts; that France had not yet constituted itself into a real nation, while Languedoc would have welcomed a foreign deliverer; that Spain was but an aggregate of petty, quarrelsome kingdoms, open to attack from both North and South; that the Greek and Moslem powers throughout the Mediterranean were the willing allies of the Hohenstaufens; we cannot but rejoice that our own country was spared the agony of a conflict with the forces of

* The same alternation is observable in the Capetians, from 1060 to 1314, though with less happy results.

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the whole of the civilized world, led by some Suabian chief, the master of the submissive Papacy. We might have come forth conquerors; but assuredly such a struggle would have tasked all the powers of our First or our Third Edward.

From this fate Europe was rescued by four causes; the tameness of the King of England; the selfishness of the German Princes; the turbulence of the Italian States; and the far-seeing statesmanship of the Popes. It is humiliating even now to think of the sums of gold drained out of England, in order to beat down the power of Frederick; still it was better that the battle of European freedom should be fought in his time on the Rhine and the Po, rather than on the Thames a few years later. Princes like the Archbishop of Mayence and the Landgrave of Thuringia ruined the unity of their own land; but when they rose against Frederick, all chance of founding an universal Empire was gone. We must cheerfully acknowledge our gratitude to the stout walls of Brescia and Faenza, Viterbo and Parma; these little towns have been of as much service to the world, as were the Roman colonies which baffled Hannibal. But what shall we say of the master-spirits, the Conti and Fieschi, the men of 1215 and of 1245, who, scorning to be the slaves of the Empire, led the battle against it, caused blood to be shed like water, refused to hear of compromise, cheered on their legions of Dominicans and Franciscans to renewed efforts, and availed themselves alike of Royal weakness in one land, of Aristocratic selfishness in another, of Democratic fury in a third? What can we say, but that however unlike in character these

Popes may have been to Him whose Vicars they styled themselves, they were tools in His hand, working out a great end? That end achieved, they were allowed to fall from their lofty pinnacle of pride; while the kingdoms of mediæval Europe, released from all chance of subjection to one overbearing master, moved steadily onwards in the path of improvement, independence, and happiness.

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